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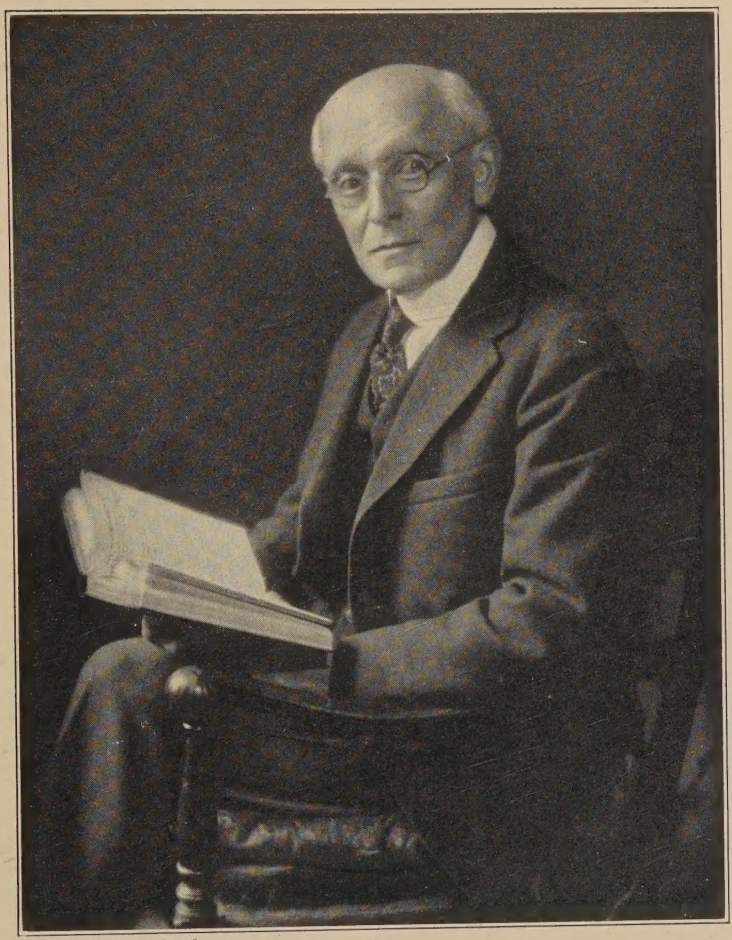

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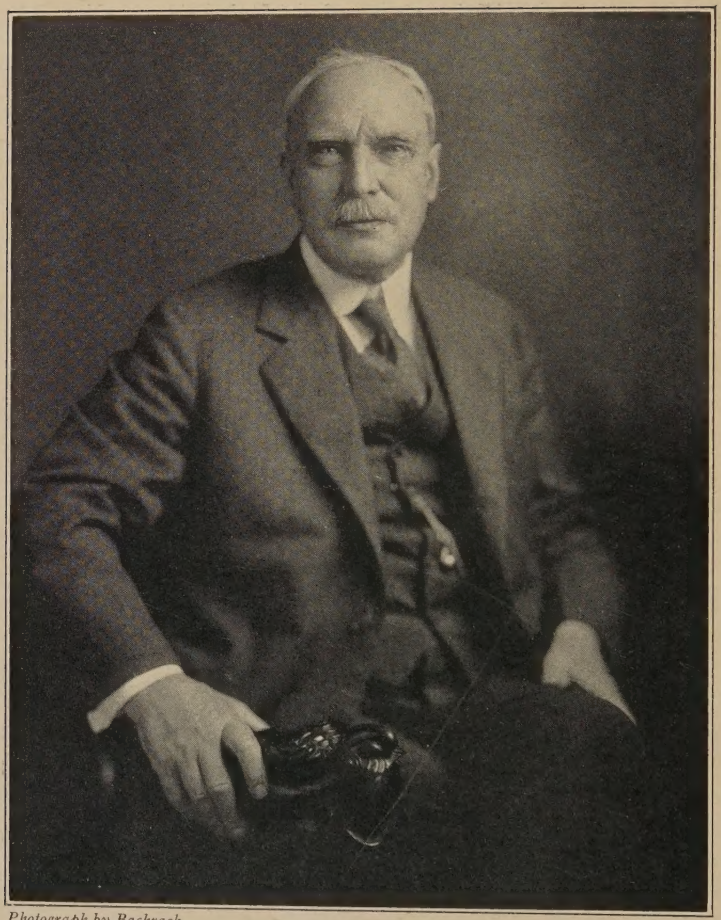

Photograph by Bachrach

Benj. W. Bacon

STUDIES IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

EDITED BY
SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

Presented to
FRANK CHAMBERLIN PORTER
AND
BENJAMIN WISNER BACON
BY
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PREFACE

These studies will be found to constitute a discussion of certain questions that occupy the forefront of attention to-day in the critical investigation of Christian beginnings. The topics chosen represent, as it were, frontier issues. The first paper, on "The Limitations of the Historical Method," faces a fundamental problem of present-day research. The need for a new critical edition of the New Testament is made apparent in the article on "The Text of the Gospels," a crucial point of grammar is discussed in "The Causal Use of Ἵνα," and important data for determining textual tradition regarding the Lucan preface are presented in "Vom reinen Wort Gottes und vom Lukas-Prolog." Recent phases of literary criticism, particularly in connection with the Gospel of Mark, are treated in two papers. These are followed by two studies on John the Baptist, whose significance for the origins of Christianity has come to be more fully appreciated in recent years. Jesus is the subject of four essays, one on the expression "The Carpenter," one on his teaching about sins, one on the conception of the Holy Spirit as applied to him in the Synoptic Gospels, and one on the method of studying his social teachings. The category of Messianism, employed so widely in early Christianity as a means of evaluating the significance of Jesus for his disciples, is discussed

in two additional papers. Paul receives a proportionate share of attention. There is a study on his idea of forgiveness, another on the problem of his relation to the Judaizers as reflected in Romans, and another giving a survey of the outstanding features of his religion. A portrayal of social conditions affecting the spread of Christianity beyond Palestine and a critical examination of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement bring the investigations to a close.

This volume of essays is presented to Frank Chamberlin Porter and Benjamin Wisner Bacon of the Yale Divinity School in recognition of their long and faithful labors in their respective fields of activity. Professor Porter, having passed his sixty-eighth birthday on January 5, 1927, retires from the chair of Biblical Theology after thirty-eight years of continuous service; while Professor Bacon's age brings his retirement this year from the chair of New Testament Criticism and Exegesis, which he has occupied for more than thirty years. As these two distinguished scholars lay aside the duties of the class-room a few of their friends have prepared in their honor the present collection of studies as a partial expression of appreciation and esteem.

To each of the various writers I wish to express sincere gratitude for their prompt and generous response to my request for a contribution to the volume. It has indeed been a pleasure to have the privilege of assembling these essays in honor of two of my highly revered and greatly beloved teachers.

Shirley Jackson Case.

University of Chicago,
January 16, 1928.

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THE LIMITATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL METHOD

ERNEST FINDLAY SCOTT

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New York, N. Y.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL METHOD

The outstanding fact in the modern investigation of the New Testament is the dominance of the historical method. It made its way with infinite difficulty in face of the settled belief that Christianity, as a special revelation, cannot have been subject to the ordinary laws of development. History, if it was considered at all, was treated from a theological point of view as the unconscious process whereby the world was preparing itself, under the providence of God, for the acceptance of the Gospel. All this is now changed. Instead of reading history in the light of the Christian message we have learned to interpret the message in terms of history. We think of the church, with its teaching and institutions, as the creation, in large measure, of manifold forces which had at last converged in the first century. The student of Christian origins makes it his chief task to distinguish these forces, and assign to each of them its due share of influence. When we speak of the scientific examination of the New Testament, we mean practically nothing else than this effort to solve every problem by means of historical data. Baur is not yet wholly antiquated, but when we contrast his exposition of Pauline theology with that which is offered us in any modern handbook, we realize how far we have traveled in a new direction. In place of a Hegelian dialectic we find constant reference to the apocalyptic

writings, to Philo and Seneca and the Oriental cults. It is taken for granted that when we have thus determined its genesis, we shall understand the doctrine of Paul.

The right of the historical method is now firmly established and needs no defense. Obviously we have here to do with something which is on quite a different footing from the older methods; for instance, the allegorism of Origen and his successors. That the Bible is a cryptic book which must always be interpreted in some other than its apparent sense is a pure assumption, and on the face of it a very doubtful one. That everything in the present is linked up with the past is an incontrovertible fact. The scholar who tries to explain the New Testament from its historical antecedents is taking no liberty. He is only applying in one particular field a law which is universally valid. Nor does he pass any judgment on the value of the result when he thus endeavors to trace out the process. The application of the new method to Christian beliefs is still regarded in many quarters as a veiled attempt to question or degrade them; and some recent books, it must be admitted, have lent color to this misconception. But in religion, as elsewhere, the nature of the process is one thing, and the worth of the result is quite another. We think no less of our political institutions when the historian has shown how they grew up out of the rude customs of savage tribes. Music and poetry lose none of their power to move us when we discover that they were first associated with barbarous rites and war-dances. If anything, they have a still higher significance, as the instinctive language in which man has found an outlet for his most passionate emotions right on from the beginning. And when a religious belief has

maintained itself in varying forms through all the phases of culture, we may feel assured that it answers to some profound need. If it had sprung up suddenly in some exceptional mind, it might be regarded as an arbitrary speculation, but since it has been always present, even when men could express it only by some crude symbol, we may justly infer that it is bound up with the very conditions of human thought. Rightly considered, the historical method has added a new and powerful weapon to Christian apologetic.

But whatever the conclusions it may lead to, the method is one which Christianity, as a historical religion, cannot disown. There are religions, for instance in India, which rest frankly on a basis of myth or metaphysic. Such religions may fairly claim that all questions as to their historical origins and affinities are beside the mark. Christianity stands on the conviction that the Word became Flesh, that the divine life manifested itself in the world of time. It proclaims a revelation which was inwoven with human history and must therefore have been in some manner conditioned by it. The demand for historical inquiry has its ultimate ground in the inner nature of the religion. And when we turn from more abstract considerations to the actual facts of the early mission, we at once discover how great a part was played by historical influences. Christianity allied itself, almost from the start, with the larger intellectual movement. It worked on the principle, "all things are yours," and confessed itself debtor both to Jews and Greeks. Much of its strength consisted, and has always consisted, in its limitless power of borrowing from every quarter, even the most unlikely, whatever elements it needed for its

own enrichment. This process of borrowing was already in full vigor when the New Testament was written, and the obvious duty of the critic is to examine its nature. He cannot elucidate the teaching until he has distinguished its various strands and assigned each of them to its true origin.

The new method has so fully vindicated itself that our danger now is to trust in it too exclusively. It is taken for granted by many writers that every New Testament problem is to be solved by a genetic inquiry. Their one resource in face of any difficulty is to pile up analogies, often dubious and far-fetched, which seem to prove a connection between the obscure New Testament idea and some other, still more obscure. Much of the recent work which has been done in the name of the historical method has served only to darken counsel. Irrelevant side-issues have been magnified; useful investigation has been set on false trails; questions of the first importance have seemed to be settled when they were only buried out of sight under a heap of misleading parallels. With the fullest acknowledgment of all that has been gained from the method it is necessary to remind ourselves of some of its limitations.

One of them is apparent as soon as we reflect on the purpose which it sets before it. It is concerned with origins, with the process by which some belief or institution came into being. The study of the process has doubtless a light to throw on the result. We know a man better when we have learned something of his ancestry and early training. We cannot understand a religious custom until we have examined it, as the botanist does a plant, in its native environment. Yet the result is something different from the process which

has led up to it. Soil and climate do not explain the plant; a man's own personality remains, after you have made the most exhaustive study of his schools and parentage. This is too easily forgotten by the historical investigator. He mistakes the causes and concomitants for the thing itself. He imagines, too often, that he has rendered a full account of it when the truth is that he has lost sight of it altogether.

Granting, however, that the thing can be rightly judged only in the light of its origins, we have to recognize that they never can be determined with absolute precision. A religious belief or practice is not like a chemical compound which can be resolved by given tests into its elements. We are here dealing with material which by its nature is elusive and infinitely complex. Perhaps a hundred different influences have gone toward the making of one idea, and they are so mingled together that they cannot be defined and separated. Even if this analysis were possible, the fact of their combination has changed each of them into something different. Our knowledge of what they previously were will most likely misguide us when we try to distinguish them in the new product. Historical inquiry can only be vague and tentative, and it is seldom willing to confess this disability. When once it has discovered traces of borrowing, it is tempted to assume that the borrowed elements have been put together mechanically, and can be accurately sorted out and labeled. Now it may be admitted that there are derivative thinkers, whose work may fairly be treated in this manner. Cicero, for example, in his moral treatises, aimed at little more than at blending the sentiments of various Greek teachers and reproducing them

in elegant Latin. The attempt to sift his borrowed material is legitimate, and still leaves him the credit of the fine language, which was the thing he chiefly cared about. But the New Testament writers are plainly on a different footing. A man who is thoroughly in earnest about his ideas can never take them over just as they are given him. He fuses them with all his previous thought and puts his own personal stamp on them, and you misread them altogether unless you can grasp them in this new presentation. A Pauline doctrine, for example, may be separated into a number of component parts, Jewish and Hellenistic; and it might appear that after this analysis there is nothing left. But surely there is *Paul*. Into all that he borrows he has put himself, his own mind and faith and experience; and it is this addition which matters. The criticism which leaves it out of sight has missed the whole meaning of the doctrine.

Apart from these more general considerations there is abundant evidence, in many recent books, of special dangers inherent in the historical method. For one thing, it rarely shakes itself completely free of the fallacy that the ideas of one age have just the same significance when they have passed over into another. The Jewish eschatology, it has been shown, runs back, in the last resort, to Babylonian speculations; the priestly observances on which the writer to the Hebrews bases his argument have their roots in primitive ritual, and are there connected with a number of strange beliefs. Endless labor has been spent in exploring this dim hinterland of New Testament thought, and no one can say that it has been wasted. The ideas in question are of such supreme importance that we cannot follow them

too closely through every phase of their development. But while the results are interesting for their own sake they have by no means the value which is often ascribed to them for the interpretation of the New Testament. Jesus and Paul and the writer to the Hebrews were not antiquarians. They knew and cared nothing about beliefs which were in vogue a millennium before their time. The significance they attached to each traditional conception was that which it bore for their own age, and we do not elucidate their teaching but only perplex it when we try to read it in terms of a bygone culture. In like manner it serves little purpose to search in primitive folklore for the origin of Christian rites and practices. It need not be doubted that they have some remote source of this kind, just as many of our social customs have ultimately come to us from the Druids. But when the church adopted them, their ancestry had been long forgotten. The emphasis on it in many current discussions on the sacraments and the early forms of worship carries with it an entirely false suggestion. We are given to understand that the Christian practices are somehow to be explained by those obscure affinities which till our own day were never even suspected.

There is a still more serious danger from the opposite side. If the Christian ideas are construed in terms of their ancestry, the earlier ideas are too often credited with a meaning which they only acquired through Christianity. One cannot but feel that in their treatment of the mystery cults, more especially, many writers have been tempted into this error. Admittedly the mystery rites and formulæ bear a striking resemblance in not a few instances to those of the church.

The likeness is so close that it is hardly possible to think of them apart from the later connotation, and the inference is thus drawn that some of the profoundest ideas in Christian symbolism were anticipated and suggested by the pagan worship. But this view, so often maintained at the present day, is probably based for the most part on an illusion. We know little about the cults, and have no means of ascertaining how they were understood by their votaries. It may be that the rites were empty, and made their appeal solely to the sense of mystery. If they did convey some deep spiritual meaning, it was bound up with a complex of ancient sentiment which is now wholly foreign to us. To interpret the cults in the light of Christian beliefs and then to argue that the beliefs were derived from them is mere reasoning in a circle. The rabbinical parallels to the Gospel sayings are likewise to be treated with reserve. At times, no doubt, the likeness is remarkable; Jesus might seem to be simply repeating, in almost identical form, the traditional maxims. But it must never be forgotten that in his use of them they acquired a new content. He made them expressive of those principles which were distinctive of his teaching, and which are now so familiar to us that we reflect them unconsciously into sayings that have quite a different background. Few critics have sufficiently guarded themselves against this form of error.

It is, indeed, the besetting danger of historical criticism to build up a theory of borrowing on some chance coincidence of language or idea or custom. When once you have persuaded yourself that between two systems of thought there is a connection, nothing is easier than to collect your proofs. Almost every sentence in one

document will yield something which can be made to correspond with some accidental phrase in another, and when all these parallels are brought together, they appear to constitute an imposing body of evidence. It is the misfortune of the New Testament writings that they lend themselves with peculiar facility to such theories of relationship. They come from an age when culture had become popularized, and when phrases and metaphors from many different sources — literary, scientific, philosophical, religious — had passed into the common vocabulary. The technical terms of almost every previous movement had found a place in this composite language, and by selecting a group of such terms from the New Testament it is easy to make a plausible case for some theory of origin. Until very recently the criticism of Luke and Acts was largely based on the frequent use in these writings of medical metaphor. Who could doubt, in the face of this palpable proof, that the author must have been Luke the physician? We are now discovering that the medical terms were not professional, but were characteristic of all literary Greek in the first century. It is not improbable that many, if not most, of the phrases which have been set down to some definite philosophical or religious influence are to be accounted for in a similar way. They had become part and parcel of the language of the time. Men who wrote about religion employed them as a matter of course, without any thought of their origin.

The historical method has undoubtedly brought to light many real affinities, but here also it is in danger of arriving at rash conclusions. No fallacy is more subtle and more fruitful of error than that which assumes that

likeness must necessarily involve borrowing. It would not be difficult to show, from many striking examples, that the minds of men are wont to take the same direction, without any suggestion from without. In times and places far removed from each other the same solutions have constantly been given to the same problems. More especially in the religious sphere we have learned to allow for a parallelism of thought which has nothing to do with borrowing. Primitive religions which can have had no possible contact are molded on similar lines and exhibit the same customs and modes of thinking. Even in religions of a higher type we meet with startling resemblances which cannot be explained on any historical grounds. The Logos doctrine has its counterparts in Egyptian and Indian and Chinese theology. The Golden Rule has been formulated in almost the same words by many independent codes of ethics. The mysticism of the Upanishads joins hands with that of Plotinus and Meister Eckhart and Swedenborg. Nor can we wonder at such coincidences. When it comes to the ultimate realities of life and religion, one phase of culture has little advantage over another. Thoughtful men, however far they may be separated, are bound to ask the same questions and to arrive at similar answers.

We come, therefore, to the principal defect of the historical method, as it is commonly employed. In its emphasis on genetic relations it leaves out of sight the profounder origins of religious ideas and beliefs. It proceeds on the assumption that all has come about through the influence of one system of thought on another; that without these contacts, more or less accidental, none of our religious conceptions could have

arisen. Now it may be true that a process of borrowing has constantly been at work in religion. Perhaps of all religions Christianity has borrowed the most, and historical inquiry is fully within its rights in exploring the sources of Christian belief. But when all attention is concentrated on this aspect of its teaching, we are in danger of mistaking the true nature and basis of Christianity. When all is said, it never claimed to be original, in the sense that its message was wholly novel. Its power consisted, and has always consisted, in the purity and simplicity with which it expresses the great convictions which have ever lain at the heart of religion. The petitions of the Lord's Prayer may all be discovered in one portion or another of the Jewish devotional literature. Several of them are anticipated in the liturgies of Persia and Babylon. Do they on that account lose their value? Some writers appear to think so. They give us to understand that they have somehow discredited the Prayer when they have made out that its clauses, taken one by one, are not strictly original. But surely the very secret of its appeal is just this, that it gathers up in the fewest words the aspirations which must always form the substance of prayer. So with all the sayings of Jesus. They have their parallels in rabbinical Judaism; not only so, but in Plato and the Stoics, in the literature of Buddhism and Confucianism, in every other religion that is worthy of the name. This only means that Jesus truly expressed the desires and convictions which have always been central in human life. From this point of view it is indeed significant that the sayings were so often anticipated, but to insist that they were "borrowed" is to miss the vital fact. For the true sources of the

"borrowing" we must not search in documents and traditions, even though the words in which he expressed himself may have come to Jesus from some one before him. He drew directly from the teaching of life, from the experience of the soul in its relation to God. The criticism which tries to explain everything in the light of genetic theory has no perception of the true origins of Christianity.

The historical method, therefore, has its well-marked limitations. No one can dispute its value, but the exclusive use of it has led, in almost every instance, to a false emphasis or a concealment of the very fact that needs to be examined. Its work is at best preliminary. For the deeper understanding of the New Testament we must rely on methods of quite a different kind.

There is need, in the first place, for a more penetrating study of the records themselves, in their inner purport and mutual relations. Historical inquiry, in the hands of some writers, is little more than a specious excuse for loose and indolent criticism. Whenever they meet with a difficulty they take refuge among quotations and analogies. The problem seems to be disposed of, in a manner eminently learned and scientific, while it has merely been evaded. Many of us are beginning to weary of the constant appearance of the "deus ex machina" in the shape of some Oriental myth or recondite passage from the Hermetic writings. The learning which bewilders us with these obscure references (most of them now accessible with little first-hand research) is no real substitute for the patient analysis of the New Testament documents. The background ought not to be neglected, but some attention is also due to the actual landscape. Perhaps

it is the greatest service of Dr. Bacon, especially in his more recent work, that he has taught us how much can be discovered by careful scrutiny and comparison of the different types of New Testament thought. With some of his results we may disagree, but he has marked out the lines of a new method, which is likely in the end to prove more fruitful than the purely historical one. He makes us realize that the master-key to the great New Testament problems must be sought within the New Testament itself. The "Apostolic Message" had its own formative ideas, by means of which we must ultimately explain its growth and variations.

Again, we are beginning to learn that many of the questions we have asked of history ought properly to be addressed to psychology. The New Testament is above all a record of marvelous spiritual experiences, and the psychological inquiry ought always to supplement the historical one. Even if it could be proved that everything in the early beliefs was derived from some alien source, it would still be true that the borrowed ideas were realized with singular intensity, and produced extraordinary effects in the lives of remarkable men. They cannot be understood when they are taken merely in their historical relations, apart from their living expression. It must be admitted that psychology is still in its beginnings. In spite of its often arrogant claims it has so far taught us very little, and most of its answers to New Testament riddles are shallow and puerile. But it has at least demonstrated that many things which were formerly set down to extraneous causes are to be accounted for by the workings of the mind itself under peculiar conditions. As our knowledge widens this method of inquiry will yield ever more

significant results. Much of the labor now wasted on doubtful historical investigations will be better spent in the study of present-day revivals, of work in missionary lands, of the religious emotions of ordinary men and women. Above all the student of the New Testament needs to acquaint himself with the higher moods of the spiritual life, as illustrated in the great saints and prophets of all ages. It is often complained that we know so little about Jesus, or about Paul and the Fourth Evangelist. All our difficulty is supposed to arise from this meagerness of the data. But would it help us much if we had an official biography of Paul in three volumes, or if some document came to light which answered every question ever raised concerning the author of the Fourth Gospel? The real difficulty consists in the fact that these men belong to a quite exceptional order. Goethe was a man of our own time, and first-hand records are available for almost every day of his long life. Yet, with all this mass of evidence, he is still the most inscrutable of modern men. For the understanding of a great poet or a supreme religious teacher our ordinary conceptions of how the mind must act are useless, or only mislead us. If we are ever to explain such men, we must accustom ourselves to new standards, comparing these great spirits with others of something like commensurate greatness.

Once more, there can be no true criticism of the New Testament which does not take account of its permanent message as well as of sources and affinities. Many scholars profess to deal with it in what they call a scientific manner, as a document which dates from a given age, and must be considered wholly in its relation to contemporary ideas. But a mode of inquiry which

ignores the most patent facts can hardly be called scientific. However the New Testament may have come into being, it has proved itself capable in a unique degree of meeting the religious needs of men. It has as much meaning for us now as it had in the first century. What is the secret of its enduring power? The critic who avoids this question is like a botanist who examines every other property of a plant, but refuses to ask himself why it grows. The time is indeed gone when the New Testament was a mysterious book, with which no one but the theologian was allowed to meddle. We have grown aware that it was written under given conditions, and that its teaching was affected at every point by existing modes of thought. But it still remains true that the last word in New Testament research belongs to the theologian. Behind all the contemporary factors there is an abiding message, and everything else is subsidiary to the discovery of its nature and meaning. Writers of the historical school are never tired of warning us that the deadly sin in criticism is that of modernizing the New Testament. They rightly insist that documents of a past age must be read in terms of that age, and that we must not import into them the ideas of our own. But there is at least an equal danger in the refusal to see anything in an ancient book but the purport which it had for its special time. In one sense the highest task of the New Testament scholar is to modernize the old conceptions. They are conveyed in bygone language; they are entangled with traditions and philosophies which have grown strange to us. How can we recover them in their inner significance? What do they mean when we try to express them in those forms of thought which are most vital for us to-day?

The historical method has never been more skilfully employed than by the two great scholars to whom this book is dedicated. Professor Porter, by his searching investigations of the Jewish background of Christianity and of the conditions which affected its progress in the Hellenistic world, has cleared the way for all later explorers in the same field. He has always been rigorously conscientious in his weighing of evidence, and has distinguished, with a sure instinct, between real and apparent influences. In everything he has written he has removed some long-standing misconception which was obscuring the true issue. Professor Bacon, with a divination which is often nothing short of genius, has perceived historical links where they were previously unsuspected. In each of his many books and even in his casual articles he has started less original minds on new paths of inquiry. But it is the peculiar merit of both these scholars that they have never allowed themselves to be bound by one exclusive method. They have brought to their study of the New Testament not only a rare historical discernment but philosophical insight and religious sympathy. By investigations which are critical in the most exacting sense they have made plainer to us the essential meaning of our religion.

THE TEXT OF THE GOSPELS

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THE TEXT OF THE GOSPELS

After the publication of Westcott and Hort's text the land had rest for almost forty years, and critics settled down to the study of details, believing for the most part that the main issue had been settled. But in the beginning of the twentieth century a distinguished native of Cincinnati, Professor H. von Soden, published an ambitious attempt to improve not only on Westcott and Hort but also on Tischendorf.

His edition was the result of a magnificent effort to examine all the manuscripts of the New Testament, and to classify them in accordance with their text. The results were published in three large volumes, of which one contained the text and apparatus and was intended to replace Tischendorf, while the other two were an elaborate attempt at classification intended to replace Westcott and Hort. The undertaking has proved a tragic failure. This is due to several causes. Not only is the apparatus given in so compressed a form that it is extraordinarily difficult to understand, but all attempts to verify von Soden's statements point to the fact that either he was very badly served by his collators, or made very poor use of their work. The apparatus is full of mistakes, which contrast painfully with the animadversions rather frequently passed by von Soden on earlier editors. His classification of manuscripts has even now not been fully investigated, and therefore it is at present only possible

to say that where it has been tested it almost always proves to be wrong, though frequently his errors prove stimulating and instructive.

His general theory is as follows: There were, he thinks, at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century, three families of text: the "*I*" text, so called because it was connected with Jerusalem; the "*H*" text, so called because he connects it with Hesychius of Alexandria; and the "*K*" text, so called because it was the *koine* or common text, having its origin in Antioch.

Roughly speaking, the *H* text corresponds to Westcott and Hort's *Neutral*, the *I* text to the *Western*, and the *K* text to the *Antiochian*. All the early texts were corrupted by the influence of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and the *I* text especially suffered both from this and from the influence of the Latin versions. Von Soden thought that after the fourth century the *koine* text was dominant, but was much influenced by survivals of the *H* and *I* types.

Tracing the line back to an earlier period, he believed that the three texts, *I*, *H*, and *K*, were three aberrant forms of a parent text which he called *I–H–K*, and this he endeavored to reconstruct by comparing the three recensions and choosing the readings supported by two of them. The obviously weak spot in this system is that there is really no evidence that the *K* text is not a compromise between the *H* and the *I* texts, as Westcott and Hort thought. I believe that on this point they were entirely right, and therefore von Soden's attempt to rank the *K* text so highly that it decides the choice between the other two is radically wrong and vitiates all his results. He was also wrong in his treatment of

Tatian, and in thinking that there was an *I* text which had been corrupted by the Latin versions. The result is that most of his grouping of manuscripts in the *I* text is inadequate. Whether the groups which he postulates within the *K* text are accurately distinguished has not yet been tested.

Thus von Soden's work has all to be done over again, and it is perhaps not inexpedient to indicate some of the problems which can already be seen to demand attention and the way in which they can be approached.

Since the publication of Westcott and Hort, the most important additions to knowledge, which have changed the complexion of the problem, may be summarized thus:

1. In the early nineties, stimulated, though in very different ways, by Rendel Harris in Cambridge and by Sanday in Oxford, English scholars paid renewed attention to the problem of the *Western* text, and especially to *Codex Bezæ* and the African Latin.

2. During the same period the discovery by Mrs. Lewis, on Mount Sinai, of a Syriac palimpsest, and its identification by Bensly and Burkitt as belonging to the Old Syriac, with a text akin to the *Curetonian*, changed and increased the importance and the difficulty of the problem of the relation of the Old Syriac to the Old Latin.

3. In the twentieth century the discovery of the Freer Manuscript of the Gospels (*W*), of the Koridethi Manuscript (Θ), and of a few papyri fragments have again directed attention, this time from another angle, to the question of the *Western* and *Neutral* texts.

The total result is that whereas the problem in the last decade of the nineteenth century was to discover

the range and if possible the origin of the *Western* text, in the third decade of the twentieth century it is to discover the nature of the mixed texts which though not *Antiochian* contain a mixture of *Western* and *Neutral* elements, and it may be confidently prophesied that the main controversy in the next decade of this century will be to reopen the problem which Westcott and Hort seemed to have closed, and to seek the origins of the *Neutral* text. Twenty years ago I should have said "to seek the origins of the *Western* text." The change of expression is significant, and is due to the fact that the work of the nineties, supplemented by that of the last twenty years, though it has not yet shown the origin of the *Western* text, has proved that its use was universal in the first half of the third century. Nor has it yet been proved that during that time its supremacy was disputed by the *Neutral* text, with the possible exception that Clement of Alexandria may have used the *Neutral* text of Acts, though he had the *Western* text of the Gospels. It has been shown that by the middle of the third century the *Neutral* text existed and had been combined in places with the *Western* text. Whence did it come? Is it the primitive text, or is it a third-century scholarly revision?

To make the position clear let us go back in thought to the third century and consider what are the known facts which bear on the text of the New Testament.

At that time Greek manuscripts which would tell us the whole story, if we only could see them, were already collected in three great centers of Christian literary antiquity. There was a great library at Cæsarea. It had been founded, perhaps by Origen, perhaps earlier, and it had been organized by Pamphilus

and used by the church historian Eusebius. It was the repository of the tradition of Origen and Eusebius, and a better tradition could scarcely be wished for. In it were also to be found, so far as we know, manuscripts of all the early Christian literature known to the Greek-speaking world. It was by the use of that library that Eusebius was able to write his church history. There was a similar library in Jerusalem, which went back at least to the time of the great Bishop Alexander, and probably to a still earlier period. It also had been visited and used by Eusebius, and ranked on a level with the library of Cæsarea. Finally, in Alexandria there was the collection of manuscripts which belonged to the catechetical school which traced its history to Pantænus, the predecessor of Clement of Alexandria.

In all these libraries there must have been manuscripts which represented the tradition of the third century, and it is probable that they contained copies which went back a century earlier, or, in other words, that they contained manuscripts which were written in the time of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria. Presumably there was also a library at Antioch, but I am not aware that we have any evidence to bear on this point. It is probably safe to conclude that a city of the size of Antioch must have had a library connected with the bishopric. The fact, however, remains that there is no definite evidence that such was the case. Nevertheless, it is in Antioch that all critics, including von Soden as well as Westcott and Hort, believe that in the fourth century a successful effort was made by Lucian to compare manuscripts and to standardize the text. There is indeed some definite evidence to this effect, but not very much.

What was the nature, then, of the manuscripts in these libraries? Most of them were rolls or books of papyrus; some of them may have been books on vellum. The pity of it is that not one of them remains. All that we have now are a very few fragments of the third century which may go back to the library at Alexandria, since they were found in Egypt. Thus the best representation of the text which was current in the third century is to be found only through the quotations in the church fathers. But to study this fully requires considerable work, which has not yet been done. In the first place, no one has as yet made a complete collection of the quotations of the New Testament in the fathers of the first three centuries. In the second place, it is doubtful whether the time has come when such a collection could be made, because the fathers themselves have not yet been fully edited. Thirdly, it is doubtful whether, even if they were edited, the result would be wholly satisfactory because their text in existing manuscripts mostly represents collections of their writings, which were made in the Byzantine period, during which the text was edited, and there was a constant tendency to make the church fathers quote the Bible according to their editors' standard of correctness. Still, making allowance for all these drawbacks, to consult the quotations in the fathers is the best guide we have. What do we gain by such an investigation?

Let us begin with Alexandria. We have, in Clement of Alexandria, a number of quotations from the New Testament. In the Gospels they agree in the main with the *Western* text, but in the Acts usually with the *Neutral*. Not always, however; in describing, for

instance, Paul's visit to Athens, when Paul went round to investigate the monuments, instead of using the usual word ἀναθεωρῶν he says διιστορῶν. Now, we find that same variant in the famous Western manuscript, *Codex Bezæ*, so that there is at least reason for thinking that it is not an inaccuracy, but that Clement actually used manuscripts of the Western type. The evidence was collected and commented upon with a great deal of insight by Mr. P. M. Barnard in *Texts and Studies* (1899), to which was appended a very illuminating preface by Professor Burkitt, remarkable because it was almost the first time that a textual critic of orthodox repute conceded that the *Western* text is really a competitor with the *Neutral* for consideration as the earliest known form. When, however, this book was published, I do not think that any one perceived that part of the problem is the curious combination of a *Western* text in the Gospels with a *Neutral* text in Acts. Moreover, the next figure in the textual history of Alexandria not merely does not solve, but greatly adds to the complication of this problem.

Go on only thirty years in the history of Alexandria and you will come to Origen. Did he use the same kind of text as Clement? The extraordinary thing is that he apparently did not. Especially in the books which he is known to have written in Alexandria he seems to have used an almost pure form of the *Neutral* text. In the Gospels, at least, this is the earliest evidence for the *Neutral* text, and from that time on this text, or some corruption of it, becomes dominant in Alexandria. Go on fifty years from the time of Origen, and you will find that it was used by Athanasius, so far as we can see, though we shall be able to speak with more

certainty on the point when the critical text which is being prepared by Dr. Casey in Cincinnati has been completed. Go on another hundred years, still staying in Alexandria, and you will find that the writings of Cyril show that he used that slightly modified form of the *Neutral* text which Westcott and Hort called Alexandrian, represented in manuscripts of the Gospels by *C L* throughout, in Mark by ΨΔ, and in Luke by Ξ.

In other words, the *Western* text seems to drop out completely from the Alexandrian tradition after the time of Origen. Considering that Origen was banished from Alexandria, it does not seem quite likely that that is merely the result of his work, but the matter is extremely doubtful and perplexing and in some respects is the most critical point in the history of the text. To put it in the form of questions: Why did Origen prefer the *Neutral* text of the Gospels to that which was used by his predecessor Clement? Where did he find it, and why did his successors, including his enemies, make use of the same text? What became of the Western tradition in Alexandria after this time? I do not know the answer to any of these questions, and I do not think that any one else is better off than I am.

Let us now follow Origen, and move to Cæsarea. One of the most important contributions to textual criticism which has been made in recent years, is Canon Streeter's discovery of the significance of the fact that the quotations of Origen in the books which he wrote when he was at Cæsarea, and presumably when he was using manuscripts which were in the library of that city, are not of the same type as those in the books which he wrote in Alexandria. They are not *Neutral*, neither are they *Western*, but a curious

combination of sometimes one and sometimes the other. Moreover, that same combination recurs in a little group of Greek manuscripts and, most remarkable of all, in the ancient Georgian version. In view of Canon Streeter's discovery it is usually called the *Cæsarean* text, and there is no objection to the phrase if it be recognized that all that that means is that it was found in manuscripts used by Origen in Cæsarea and not used by him when he was writing in other places, and that therefore the probability is considerable that it represents the type of text which was in use in Cæsarea in the third century. It is, as I said just now, a combination of the *Neutral* and the *Western* texts, in about equal quantities. Investigation into its character has not yet been finished, but I think that certain points are likely to emerge. It will, I think, be found to be a mixture of the *Neutral* and *Western* readings with perhaps slightly more which are peculiar to the *Western* text than to the *Neutral*. It does not contain any of the great *Western* interpolations but it does contain the "*Western* non-interpolations." This phrase, it should be noted, is merely a form adopted by Westcott and Hort to avoid the brutality of speaking of *Neutral* interpolations. It is, however, as well to remember that — courtesy to the *Codex Vaticanus* excepted — "*Neutral* interpolations" is what "*Western* non-interpolations" means. Thus, if it be true that the *Cæsarean* text does not contain the *Western* interpolations, the *Cæsarean* text may be described as a mixture of an interpolated *Neutral* and a *Western* text purified from most of the readings which spectacularly differed from the *Neutral* standard.

What is the significance of that conclusion? It

probably means that the basic text was *Western*, corrected to a *Neutral* standard. For if we assume that a Western manuscript was corrected by a standard *Neutral* manuscript, the great interpolations would be those which would disappear immediately. Less impressive variants, however, would escape in sufficient numbers to show the original character of the manuscript. At the same time, this theory, though the most probable, is open to further investigation, and there are one or two readings in the *Cæsarean* text which seem to suggest that it possessed some of the interpolations characteristic of the Old Syriac. Why were these not eliminated? Is it possible that the basic text was a *Western* text resembling more closely that underlying the Old Syriac than that which is behind the Old Latin?

It is also perhaps necessary to consider the possibility that there was once a non-interpolated *Western* text. This would be more or less von Soden's theory, but I should be reluctant to postulate the existence of an otherwise unknown text, if such an hypothesis is not absolutely necessary. It is well to remember that though we speak of *Western* interpolations, these interpolations are as much a part of that text as are any other verses. There is no evidence as yet of the existence of a non-interpolated *Western* text.

One other point is worth noticing. The existence of the *Cæsarean* text is the best proof of the existence of the *Neutral* text of the Gospels before the time of Origen. The evidence shows that Origen was using the *Neutral* text in Alexandria. There is no sign that it was used in Alexandria before his time, and so far as his testimony is concerned, it might well be supposed that he himself had invented the *Neutral* text of the Gospels. That

theory has indeed been proposed. But it cannot be sustained if he found the *Neutral* text in Cæsarea, not even in a pure form, but already in combination with the *Western* text. This shows that the *Neutral* text existed in combination with the *Western* text outside of Egypt, at the time when Origen was using it in Alexandria in an unmixed form. It is going too far to say that this proves that the *Neutral* text is not an Alexandrian one, because it is possible that it had moved from Alexandria to Cæsarea, but it does demonstrate quite definitely that it is a text which is older than the time of Origen, and so far as I know there is very little or no other evidence of this point, which has usually been assumed and defended with all that enthusiasm which assumptions are apt to arouse in the breasts of those who defend them.

Let us now pass westward to Carthage. The evidence of the African church is remarkably clear and consistent. From the time of Tertullian it used a Bible in an early Latin translation, marked by many provincialisms of diction which stamp it as African. The only point of doubt is whether Tertullian himself used this version or only the Greek on which it was based. It differs in many ways from the traditional Latin texts of the Middle Ages, both in readings and in renderings. One of its most marked characteristics is the presence of a number of long interpolations in the text of the Gospels, each of which contributes some new detail of information; that is to say, they are really interpolations and not merely paraphrastic expansions. Some of these have been preserved by the later medieval text and are therefore well known to us, but many were rejected by the makers of this later text

and so sound unfamiliar, really they all stand or fall together. It is so probable as to be almost certain that the whole list of these interpolations was known to Cyprian as part of the African Bible of the third century and we are fortunate enough to possess in the *Codex Bobiensis* (*k*) parts of a very early copy of this text. It is, I think, certainly not later than the fifth and perhaps as early as the fourth century.

The *Codex Bobiensis* is in itself a romantic document. It was written in Africa by a scribe who was either a heathen or who had been one so lately that he wrote *Jovis* when he meant *ovis* and in many other ways showed by his mistakes that he was one of the long line of those who are better scribes than Christians. The codex then appears to have passed from Africa to Ireland and was the property of St. Columbanus, who according to tradition took it with him on that remarkable journey on which he led an army of Irish monks up the Rhine, converting the Germans to the Irish faith, while a similar army of Roman monks went down the Rhine on the other side, endeavoring to convert them to the Roman faith. The saint's journey ended at the monastery of Bobbio, in the foot-hills of the Alps, and from Bobbio the codex passed, at some moment which is unknown, to Turin, where it is now one of the great treasures of the celebrated library which suffered so much from fire a few years ago.

It is perhaps not improper to stop and wonder what exactly was the sequence of events which led to this and other African manuscripts going to Ireland. What was the bond of connection between Carthage and Armagh? It is a curious fact that the Irish manuscripts, whether they come from Ireland itself or from the north

of England where they were taken by St. Aidan and his followers, or from Luxeuil, or from Bobbio, so often manifest the influence of the African text. The *Codex Bobiensis*, however, is the only manuscript connected with the Irish which is purely African in text, and perhaps of African origin.

The text used by Cyprian was still dominant in Africa up to the end of the fourth century, when it was gradually supplanted by the Vulgate. For that period we have the evidence of Augustine, who sometimes uses the Vulgate, but in his dialogues with the Manicheans quotes many verses of Acts in a pure Old Latin text.

If we ask from what Greek manuscripts the African version was made, we can only say that they have been almost entirely lost. There are only two which approach at all closely to the text which must have been used by the makers of the African Latin. One of them is the celebrated *Codex Bezæ*, which was written in a place as well known to critics as the tomb of Moses was to the Jews. It has, however, been confidently identified with Southern Gaul, Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia, Alexandria, and Ephesus. All that can really be said is that it was a place where both Greek and Latin were used, but we do not know certainly whether or not Greeks spoke Latin, or Latins spoke Greek. Its text may fairly be described as essentially similar to the *African Latin*, but corrupted or emended by other types, notably by the *Neutral* or *Alexandrian*. Was this corruption made in Alexandria? May it not have been Cæsarea? Once more the answer is not known, but investigation would probably reveal it, and it is more important for the textual critic to remember that it is not known than to spend his time in curious arguments in favor

of either hypothesis. Lowe and Quentin have proved that in the eighth century *Codex Bezæ* was in Lyons. Thence it passed in the sixteenth century to a certain William Dupré, who used it at the Council of Trent to confirm an argument in favor of the celibacy of the clergy by a reading which is found only in it. For in John, xxi, 22, instead of making Jesus say to Peter, "If I will that he tarry till I come," it makes him say, "If I will that he tarry thus (*sic manere*) till I come," and the ingenious Bishop Dupré perceived that "to tarry thus," when interpreted in the light of St. Paul's teaching, meant "to stay unmarried." From the bishop the manuscript passed to Henry Stephanus, who used it for his edition of the printed text, but rarely followed its readings. The history of *Codex Bezæ* was remarkable at all points, and its borrower soon returned it to the library at Lyons. Not long afterward it was acquired by Theodore Bezæ. It appears to have come out of its place on the shelves of the monastery when the city of Lyons was sacked by the Protestant army. Later the great reformer gave it to the University of Cambridge, in the library of which it can still be consulted, though not, I am glad to say, without some difficulty, unless the authorities know that you have good reason for doing so.

The other manuscript which may be taken as an authority for the Greek text which underlies the African Latin was perhaps written in Egypt in the fourth or fifth century, was lost in the sands for many centuries, was then purchased by Mr. Freer and published by the University of Michigan. It is now in the Freer collection at Washington, and is referred to as *W*. In the greater part of the Gospels it has a mixed text, but the

first five chapters of Mark are extremely like *Codex Bezæ*, and, with it, may be regarded as roughly representing the kind of Greek text which was used by the maker of the *African Latin*.

Neither *W* nor *D* can be considered as in any way perfect examples of the archetype of the *African Latin*. All the recent work on the subject makes it clear that they have both been corrupted by other texts, and that the *African Latin* itself must be used freely in order to take out the corrupt element. They are, however, sufficient to prove, or at least to make extremely probable, that the interpolated text existed in Greek. In other words, the long interpolations of the *African Latin* were found by the translator in his archetype, and were not interpolations original to his translation.

There is one more valuable piece of evidence which shows that the Greek underlying the *African Latin* was used at the end of the second century. This is the testimony of Irenæus, who came from Ephesus but wrote in Gaul. Did he bring the *Western* text with him, or did he find it at Lyons? We do not know, nor can we always reconstruct his exact text, for most of his writings are extant only in a Latin translation, but enough of the Greek is preserved to show that the translator was accurate and to give us reasonable security that the Latin version of Irenæus represents the Greek which he wrote.

Can we trace the *Western* text back any further? I should not like to state definitely that we can do so, but it is at least a fact that the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, which is probably not much later than 175 A.D., had a *Western* rather than a *Neutral* text; that the fragments which we possess of Marcion's version of Luke, which

goes back to the middle of the second century, appear to be based on it; and finally that, though it cannot be stated with certainty that the Epistle of Barnabas or the Didache were acquainted with our canonical Scriptures, it can at least be said that, in the case of the Book of Acts, if they possessed it at all, they did so in the *Western* text, for both Barnabas and the Didache have verses which reappear only in the *Western* text of Acts. The question is, did they get them from the *Western* text or the *Western* text from them?

If we reverse the process of investigation into the history of the *Latin* text, we find that in Italy in the third and fourth centuries there was a Latin version, now called the *European*, which seems to be more or less a compromise between the *Western* and *Neutral* texts, and this was still further revised by Jerome at the end of the fourth century, making what was afterward called the Vulgate. The history of these versions is very interesting but throws relatively little light on the *Greek* text.

Let us now leave Africa and Italy and go almost due east to Edessa in Mesopotamia. It seems to be generally conceded that this was the center of Syriac literature in the fourth century. At any rate, most of the Syriac church fathers whose writings are extant belong to that district, or even further toward the East. We now know, though Westcott and Hort did not, that none of them used a text of the four Gospels as such, but that they had the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, a composite work which converted them into a continuous narrative. One of the worst lacunæ in our knowledge of early Christian literature is that due to the fact that there is no extant copy of this book. There is an

Arabic version which probably preserves the order but not the text, and there is a commentary by Ephraem, who wrote in the fourth century, from which some parts of the text can be restored. But in the first half of the nineteenth century not even this was known, and the only *Syriac* text which Western scholars were able to use was the *Peshitto* or *Syriac Vulgate*. They assumed, not unnaturally, that this was a version of the second century. The last century has shown that they were wrong and has enabled us to construct, not indeed the continuous history of the *Syriac* version, but some fragments of the story of the text of the "Separated Gospels" which competed with, and ultimately drove out of the field, the *Diatessaron* of Tatian.

In the middle of the nineteenth century a Syriac manuscript was brought from the monastery in the Nitrian desert, and was edited by Canon Cureton of the British Museum. It was only a fragment, but it proved to have a text quite different from the *Peshitto*. A heated controversy ensued between those who, like Westcott and Hort a little later, insisted that this manuscript, called from its editor the *Curetonian*, was earlier than the *Peshitto*, and those who, clinging to their belief that the *Peshitto* belonged to the second century and proved the antiquity of the *Textus Receptus*, regarded the *Curetonian* as aberrant, worthless, and probably heretical. On the whole, those who supported the *Curetonian* had the best of the argument, and younger scholars followed Westcott and Hort's lead in putting the origin of the *Peshitto* in the fourth century; but there was no real evidence, and the controversy might have continued until now, had it not been for a

remarkable discovery by Mrs. Gibson and Mrs. Lewis, on Mount Sinai, and an equally remarkable piece of investigation by Professor Burkitt into the quotations of the Gospels in the writings of Ephraem.

Mrs. Gibson and Mrs. Lewis, two ladies living in Cambridge, went to Mount Sinai in 1892. There they photographed a Syriac palimpsest. On their return, their photographs were identified by Professor Bensly and Professor Burkitt as a manuscript of the same family as the *Curetonian*. This palimpsest would never have been known if the instinct of Mrs. Gibson and Mrs. Lewis for taking a paleographical chance had not induced them to photograph it, and if the critical scent of Mr. Burkitt had not led him to identify a strange word as suggesting relationship with the *Curetonian*. It was soon afterward published by Mrs. Lewis, and its readings, with the *Curetonian*, were incorporated by Professor Burkitt in his edition of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

This text, if it be collated with any modern critical edition such as Westcott and Hort, shows a great many variants, of which a striking number are also found in the *Old Latin* and in *Codex Bezæ*. But further inquiry complicates the situation. I do not think that it has ever been done, but I feel tolerably sure that if the Sinai Syriac were collated with *Codex Bezæ*, it would show almost as much resemblance to the *Codex Vaticanus* as it does to *Codex Bezæ* when it is collated with Westcott and Hort. The truth appears to be that the underlying texts of the *African Latin* and of the *Sinaitic Syriac* are rather more closely related to one another than either of them is to anything else, but each has a series of interpolations and also a series of omissions

which are not found in the other. It would be wrong to assume the conclusions of an investigation which has never been fully made, but I incline to believe that it would be profitable to see whether a comparison of the *Syriac* and *Latin* texts does not suggest that they represent a type varying considerably from that of the great uncials ℵ and *B*, which has been interpolated in one way in the *Latin* and in another in the *Syriac*.

But that is not all. In the first place, the question naturally arises as to the relation of this text to that of the *Diatessaron*. It is obvious, from a comparison of the text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* with the remains of the *Diatessaron*, that there is a close connection between them. But did the text of the *Diatessaron* influence the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or did the latter influence the *Diatessaron?* Confident assertions have been made on both sides, but no positive proof or wholly convincing argument has as yet been submitted.

In the second place, what is the relation of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* to the *Peshitto?* Once more, there is clearly some connection, and the *Peshitto* is doubtless directly or indirectly a revision of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. But the whole difficulty of the problem is in the "directly or indirectly." Did the reviser who made the *Peshitto* work directly on the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, or were there intermediate revisions of which we now know nothing?

The first step in throwing a little light on this obscure question was the work of Professor Burkitt, referred to above, entitled *The Quotations of St. Ephraem from the Gospel*. This small but extremely important book provided the proof that there are no quotations in Ephraem's genuine works except from the *Diatessaron;*

that the writings ascribed to Ephraem which do contain quotations from the *Peshitto* are all later writings falsely attributed; and that therefore there is no reason for doubting that the revision which we know to have been undertaken by Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, at the beginning of the fifth century is the *Peshitto* and nothing else.

From this series of discoveries and investigations two facts emerge: (1) The Syriac church of Edessa used the *Diatessaron* until the fifth century. (2) There nevertheless did exist a Syriac version of the separated Gospels, which preceded the *Peshitto*. The question which remained open was whether this text was the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, or whether there is an unknown chapter in the history of the Syriac version, covering the two centuries which intervened between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and Rabbula.

Light may be thrown on this question in two ways. It is possible to look once more at the whole body of Syriac patristic literature, and classify the quotations. So far as this has been done, it has as yet pointed to nothing except the *Diatessaron* and the *Peshitto*, but as the Syriac writers in question are mostly later than Rabbula this is not surprising. A more promising method of attack, which has suddenly become important, is the investigation of the versions which were made from the Syriac before the time of Rabbula.

This takes us away from Edessa, back to Cæsarea. A little group of us who have been working together at Harvard at the *Cæsarean* text propose before long to publish evidence to show that there probably existed in the third century another *Syriac* text, based on *Cæsarean* manuscripts, which has completely disappeared.

The facts which we propose to put forward are these: The Georgian version, probably made in the fifth century, is the best single witness we possess to the type of text which we call Cæsarean, but which is also found in more or less corrupt form in some half-dozen Greek manuscripts. Since it was used by Origen in Cæsarea it was in existence in the third century. The Georgian version, however, is not directly translated from Greek manuscripts, but from Armenian; and the Armenian, which we possess at present in two forms, has been so heavily corrected to the standard of later texts that it would never have been recognized as Cæsarean had it not been for the Georgian version. Until the present the general opinion of Syriac and Armenian scholars has been that the Armenian version was translated from Syriac and not from Greek. But if so, the Armenian version, which was Cæsarean in type, as is proved by the Georgian version, must be a translation from a Syriac of the same character, and no such Syriac is now extant.

It would seem perhaps that it is an extremely improbable hypothesis that a Syriac version which existed in the fourth century should have disappeared completely, but there are some considerations which mitigate the strangeness of the proposition. The Syriac church was in the habit of covering its tracks. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* exists only in one fragment of a manuscript and in a palimpsest which can be read only because the scribe who was told to destroy it did not scrape the writing out with sufficient diligence. No copy of the *Diatessaron* remains. Moreover, two questions which have never been answered deserve consideration. Granted that the *Diatessaron* was the Gospel text of Edessa, was it also the Gospel text of all

Syriac churches, which stretched from Mesopotamia to the hinterland of Antioch and Cæsarea? Secondly, what do we know of the Gospel text used by the Syriac church fathers? Aphraates we know and Ephraem we know, thanks to Professor Burkitt, but what of the later ones? Did they all use the *Peshitto?* My friend Dr. Conybeare was busy at the time of his death with an investigation which showed that they used a text which was not the *Peshitto*. He thought that it was the *Diatessaron*, but was it? Or was it the postulated version from which the Armenian was made? That is one of the problems which can undoubtedly be solved, but only by a process of rather long and tedious research.

It will be seen that in all this argument the crucial point is whether the Armenian is really a translation from the Syriac or not. Orientalists have always taken this view, but there is at least one, Dr. Macler, who has declared himself in favor of the view that the Armenian was translated directly from the Greek. So far his opinion has not met with much support, but the matter requires further treatment by the experts. Let me for the moment assume that the older view is right and that the Armenian is translated from the Syriac. If so, there must have been a Syriac version which was current in those parts of the Syriac-speaking church which did not use the *Diatessaron*, and it was translated from the *Cæsarean* text of the type which is known to have existed in the third century. If, on the other hand, the Armenian was made directly from Greek, it implies that Armenia was in close contact with the Greek church of Cæsarea, and that fact will be sufficient to modify many opinions about the progress of Christianity in Armenia and the Caucasus.

The problem of the *Syriac* text of Acts during this period is an entirely separate one. The Syriac writers who used the *Diatessaron* in the Gospels used in Acts a text which was in all essentials the same as that preserved in the African *Old Latin* and borne witness to by the margin of the Harklean *Syriac*, which seems to have preserved many fragments of this ancient text when Thomas of Heraclea, of whom I shall have more to say presently, revised the Syriac New Testament. The difficulty here is not quite so obvious as in the Gospels, but it is equally real. In the Gospels it is reasonably obvious that the text of Edessa and the text of Carthage are not identical, but in Acts it would appear that they are. Clearly the explanation of this difficulty is in some way connected with the different dates at which the Gospels and Acts were taken into the Syriac canon, but the details of the explanation are at present beyond our ken.

One last stage remains to be reported in the story of the Syriac versions. At the beginning of the sixth century Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, southwest of Edessa, revised a previous Syriac version, possibly the *Peshitto*. This was replaced a hundred years later by a final revision[1] undertaken by another bishop of Mabug named Thomas. The extreme importance of this revision of Thomas of Heraclea is to be found in the marginal notes, taken in connection with the statement of Thomas that he made use of accurate and approved copies from a monastery in Alexandria, and Professor Ropes has shown that this probably means that the body of the text was revised by the help of these

[1] In spite of Professor Burkitt's arguments I am not convinced that this revision was merely nominal.

manuscripts which belonged to the Antiochian family, and that the marginal notes represent rejected readings. Rejected from what? The question is being investigated at the present moment, and it is impossible to anticipate its results. But this much, at least, may be said, that those who are conducting it find it very hard to believe that Philoxenus was not working with the help of a Syriac version which was not the *Peshitto*.

The general result of this rapid journey through the centers of church life in the third century is to show that in the beginning of that century and at the end of the second, the *Western* text of the Gospels was used everywhere. There is no evidence of the existence of the *Neutral* text at this or any earlier period. The variations which are found are internal to the *Western* text and are not *Neutral* readings.

Ought we then to assume that the *Neutral* text is the product of the early third century? That, I believe, is the conclusion which Professor Sanders of Michigan is inclined to draw. But I am not yet ready to agree with him, because I think that the *Neutral* text is intrinsically the better text. The *Western* text seems to me frequently to possess a paraphrastic quality which cannot be primitive. Therefore I am still inclined to think that the *Neutral* text and the *Western* text both belong to the early second century. I admit, however, that I should feel much surer of this opinion if my friends who are digging up papyri in Egypt would introduce a little more variety into the list of Western fragments which they are producing. Of course the followers of Westcott and Hort, who are really strong in the faith, realize that these fragments merely mean that there were a number of bad texts in the second

century, but it is somewhat trying to those of us who are men of little faith.

Nevertheless, in spite of adversity, I still think that the *Neutral* text is intrinsically the better. It is true that this is a purely subjective criticism, but all criticism is ultimately subjective, though some critics recognize the quality only in others. Therefore I take refuge in my friend Professor Ropes, who thinks that the existence of the *Western* text is due to a very early and widespread revision. He has certainly put his finger very accurately on the event in the history of the church which is most likely to have led to such revision, the process which made the Gospels canonical. He believes that the *Western* text, in its earliest form, was produced when the church accepted a canon, and that this was probably before the time of Marcion. I think that he is somewhat influenced in this conclusion by the belief that Marcion used the *Western* text, and I admit that I am not wholly convinced that the canon is earlier than the time of Marcion; but however that may be, there is great attraction in his theory that the *Western* text is the earliest canonical form and that the *Neutral* text represents a pre-canonical text, of which the merits were rediscovered by Origen, and possibly by others — notably by Clement in Acts — before him. It is this pre-canonical text which was preserved by the scholars of Alexandria, and in a slightly revised form by the Vatican manuscript and its allies.

It will be seen that if this rapid sketch of the history of the text be right there were two competing texts in the third century. Compromise texts were made in the West by the makers of the *European Latin* and in the East by the makers of *Cæsarean* text. Neither

the original texts nor the compromises held their ground in the fourth century. Jerome produced a new Latin compromise in the Vulgate, and some one — probably Lucian — made a new Greek compromise in the *Antiochian* text. These were successful, and the Vulgate became the text of the Catholic church in the West, and the *Antiochian* the standard text of the Greek church.

What, then, are the chief tasks for the textual critic of the immediate future? A few desiderata may be mentioned. We certainly need a new edition of Tischendorf, and a small committee of English scholars are undertaking this laborious work. But partly in coöperation with this task and partly in addition to it there are a number of subordinate problems which invite study.

We possess in printed editions and in photographs a sufficient number of the most important manuscripts to enable the proper reconstruction of texts which can be safely assigned to certain periods and to certain places. It only requires the work of a few competent scholars and the expenditure of a relatively small sum to enable us to produce a text which could fairly be called the Byzantine text. It will include the sub-groups which the critic knows as K^1, K^r, K^x, K^a, etc. When we have it we will know with very considerable accuracy what was the text of Constantinople and of the Byzantine Empire in general, and how it gradually changed in the course of ten centuries. We could also, if there were a sufficient number of workers, produce a text which would give us the various forms of the *Western* text. To do this would be a more difficult though probably a less laborious task than the reconstruction of a Byzan-

tine text. Thirdly, it would be quite possible to reconstruct the *Cæsarean* text, and for this purpose the results of an edition of the *Byzantine* text would be extremely valuable, because in no single witness have we the pure *Cæsarean* text. It is always alloyed with the *Byzantine*, and one of the things which we wish to know is the exact nature of this mixture. When was it made in each case? We shall be able to tell when and only when we cease to talk about the *Byzantine* text as though it were a unit, and understand that it means a thousand years of slight but perceptible change, the knowledge of which would enable us to date the mixture in the individual members of the Cæsarean family. Even when we have done all these things, we may not be able to reconstruct the original autographs, but we shall know a great deal more about the history of the Bible in divers lands and at various epochs than we do to-day.

The fields are white unto the harvest, but the laborers are few, and there are still fewer who are willing to pay the expense of the work. In a few places something is being done. But there are few subjects of which it can be said so definitely that here are a number of problems inviting research, to which the answer is not known but can be known, if it be sought with industry and intelligence.

THE CAUSAL USE OF ἵνα

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THE CAUSAL USE OF ἽΙΝΑ

Time was when grammarians were slow to admit anything but pure purpose in ἵνα. But the Latin carried a warning in the double use of *ut*, for both purpose and result. The lexicons and grammars to-day generally admit the use of ἵνα in the later Greek for purpose, purport, and result, though some deny the ecbatic usage. There remain various elliptical examples where no principal verb or substantive appears. These instances may be left to one side.

But Sophocles in his *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Period* (1870) claimed Apollonius Dyscolus and Theodosius for "the causal use of ἵνα" as well as Epictetus and even Chrysostom. The examples adduced are not all convincing, least of all the one in Gen. 22:14, ἵνα εἴπωσιν σήμερον Ἐν τῷ ὄρει Κύριος ὤφθη. The ecbatic use of ἵνα makes here perfectly good sense. More to the point is the case of ἵνα in Mark 4:12 (= Luke 8:10), where Matthew 13:13 has ὅτι. This example justifies careful examination. But, before that is done, one may note that Liddell and Scott do not give the causal use of ἵνα. Thayer does not recognize it nor does Preuschen nor Abbot-Smith. Clearly the fact stands that the lexicographers have not followed the line of Sophocles on the causal use of ἵνα.

But Professor H. Pernot, *Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres, La Sorbonne, Paris*, has vigorously championed the causal use of ἵνα in the New Testament. He

contends that the Greek New Testament must be understood from the standpoint of modern Greek: "However, we must go back to Byzantine and modern, much more than to ancient Greek, where the Greek of the New Testament, and especially of the Gospels, is concerned." (*Greek and the Gospels*, by Professor H. Pernot, *The Expository Times*, December, 1926, p. 105.) There is no denying the value of Byzantine and Modern Greek for seeing the outcome of tendencies already apparent in the Greek New Testament. No recent grammarian of the Greek New Testament denies it. Certainly Moulton in his *Prolegomena* contends for the importance of the modern Greek vernacular for understanding the vernacular κοινή in which the New Testament is written (with strains of the literary κοινή). I have repeatedly laid emphasis on the same point in my *Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (pp. 21–24). That is true even of Blass and more so of the Blass-Debrunner *Grammatik* (1921). One admits a feeling of surprise, therefore, when he finds in *Annales de l'Université de Paris*, January, 1927, an article by Professor H. Pernot entitled *Les Evangiles*, in which he said (p. 28): "En ce qui concerne la langue du Nouveau Testament, nos connaissances grammaticales se trouvent présentement groupées dans un certain nombre de volumes bien connus, tels que ceux de Winer-Schmiedel, de Blass-Debrunner, de Robertson, de Moulton. Le travail qu'ils représentent est considérable. Cependent, le but que se proposaient les auteurs est loin d'avoir été atteint, et la raison en est simple. La plupart d'entre eux ne possédaient sur l'évolution du grec postclassique que des notions rudimentaires et ne pouvaient en

conséquence apercevoir comment se posait exactement le problème." There is more to the same point and no more convincing. Professor Pernot accuses all these modern grammarians of ignorance and incompetence because they admit that the vernacular κοινή in which the New Testament appears grew out of the vernacular Attic instead of turning to the vernacular Byzantine and vernacular modern Greek for the interpretation of the Greek New Testament. Development in language, as in history, goes forward, not backward. The wonderful Greek language has had its history forward from Homer to Trikoupis, not from Trikoupis to Homer. No one would consult a modern newspaper in order to understand Shakspere or the language of the Authorized Version. We will do much better to begin with the Anglo-Saxon and Chaucer and the Norman French. The modern book or magazine may furnish illustrations of tendencies already present in Shakspere or the Authorized Version, but water does not run uphill. There is genuine help to be derived from the late Greek, but it is putting the cart before the horse to place the late postclassical Greek of the Byzantine period on a par with the κοινή of the period 300 B.C. to A.D. 300. The Greek New Testament was written in the first century A.D.; the old controversy between the Purists and the Hebraists has been dead for more than a generation. The many volumes of the papyri from Oxyrhynchus, Fayum, Tebtunis, and other places in Egypt have furnished students of the Greek New Testament with almost a plethora of contemporaneous documents of the first century A.D. These have not yet all been published, but enough are now known to put it beyond dispute that the Greek New Testament

is written in the current κοινή of the first century A.D. This is true both for the lexical and the grammatical aspects of the problem. On the foundation of the old Attic rests the κοινή with dialectical influences. Change appears in the papyri as in the New Testament, but it is orderly growth, not revolution. One sees change going on through the Byzantine period to the Modern Greek.

With this general reply to Professor H. Pernot out of the way, let us now look at the causal use of ἵνα. I can say, however, that I have looked in vain in the *Thumb-Angus Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular* for the causal use of ἵνα, though the absence of this usage in Modern Greek vernacular proves nothing concerning the vernacular κοινή, though in the Modern Greek νά has nearly displaced the infinitive. I find no instance of the causal use of ἵνα in Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources* nor in Mayser's *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* nor in Radermacher's *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* (zweite, erweiterte Auflage, 1925). A negative opinion proves nothing that is conclusive, if actual examples occur. But one is at least justified in saying that the causal use of ἵνα is rare in the κοινή.

In the Blass-Debrunner *Grammatik* (1921) on page 205 we note allusion to the causal use of ἵνα: "2. *Fut.* in Apok: 22 : 14: ἵνα ἔσται . . . καὶ εἰσέλθωσιν (ἵνα hier = weil ὅτι, wie 14 : 13)." Swete takes ἵνα in Rev. 22 : 14 to be result, but cause in Rev. 14 : 13: "ἵνα here passes into the meaning of ὅτι, 'in that,' rather than 'in order that,' nearly as in John 8 : 56: ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ, 'he rejoiced to see.' "

Jannaris in his *Historical Greek Grammar* (1897) is positive that in the Greco-Roman period to the Neohellenic examples of the causal use of *ἵνα* appear: "Peculiar but unmistakable is the use, in G—N, of *ἵνα*(N *νὰ* 1766) in the sense of a causal participle or *ὅτι because, since, for*, especially after expressions of *emotion*" (1741, p. 408). John 8 : 56 may be "content" rather than "cause" as Gen. 22 : 14 may be result. So in Rom. 5 : 20 *ἵνα* can be result as Sanday and Headlam take it and as it clearly is in Rom. 5 : 21. Sophocles actually quotes Gal. 3 : 19, *τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη*, as proof of the causal use of *ἵνα* in Rom. 5 : 20. In Rom. 6 : 1 it is probable that *ἵνα* retains the final sense. It seems likely, as Sanday and Headlam urge, that Paul has in mind the charge made against him in 3 : 8: *ποιήσωμεν τὰ κακὰ ἵνα ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀγαθά*. He instantly repudiates the charge with *μὴ γένοιτο*. There remains the crucial case of Mark 4 : 12: *ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται, ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσι καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσι καὶ μὴ συνίωσιν, μή ποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς*. The point at issue here is whether *ἵνα* gives purpose, purport, result, or cause. Suppose we look at Luke 8 : 10: *ὑμῖν δέδοται γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς, ἵνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ συνίωσιν*. Assuming the priority of Mark, one observes at once that Luke does not use Mark's manifestly negative purpose, "lest perchance they turn and it be forgiven them." Now look at Matthew 13 : 13: *διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ, ὅτι βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ακούουσιν οὐδὲ συνίουσιν*. On a superficial glance one may say that the use of *ὅτι* here by Matthew proves that *ἵνα* in Mark 4 : 12 and Luke

8 : 10 has the same meaning as ὅτι. I admit the possibility of ἵνα = ὅτι in a passage that makes it necessary. Is that true here? A close study of the context in each Gospel, of the Hebrew original, and of the Septuagint translation makes it far from certain. Matthew in 13 : 13 uses διὰ τοῦτο — ὅτι as the reason for the use of parables by Jesus, but he immediately adds in verses 14 and 15 the verbatim quotation of the Septuagint text of Isaiah 6 : 9–10, including μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν, καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς. It cannot be said, therefore, that Matthew has softened the purpose into cause to avoid the difficulty, for the problem remains with μήποτε. But, if Matthew changed ἵνα to ὅτι to avoid purpose, that would argue against the causal use of ἵνα. Swete on Mark 4 : 12 observes that "ἵνα, which is not part of the quotation, explains the purpose of the parabolic teaching in regard to those who, after long attendance on Christ's ministry, were still 'without'; it was intended to fulfil the sentence of judicial blindness pronounced on those who will not see." Gould on Mark notes that the original Hebrew clearly means, "lest they see with their eyes, etc." "In the LXX, on the contrary, the hardening is the cause, not the purpose." So he argues that Mark and Luke follow the Hebrew in the free adaptation of the Septuagint in "making the failure to hear and see to be the purpose of the parable." McNeile on Matthew makes three alternative interpretations. Jesus may have used parables to conceal his real teaching from those out of sympathy with him or "ἵνα may therefore be virtually equivalent to ὥστε in accordance with a well-known Hebraic idiom, the *result* is ironically described as a

purpose," or, once more, Mark 4 : 12 may be "editorial comment." I think that a reading of the whole context in the Hebrew and the Septuagint of Isaiah 6 : 9–10, of Mark 4 : 12; Luke 8 : 10; Matthew 13 : 13–15 will show that it is by no means certain that Mark in 4 : 12 employed *ἵνα* in the sense of *ὅτι*. It is possible, but not certain, for the real difficulty still remains, "lest haply they should turn again, and it should be forgiven them." Professor Pernot says: "Without any doubt whatever, *ἵνα* in this passage [Mark 4 : 12] is to be translated by *because*." But the real problem remains even if *ἵνα* should here mean *ὅτι*, the problem of God's purpose as given by Isaiah and as adapted by Jesus in the reports of Mark, Matthew, and Luke.

It should be added that Professor Pernot denies that *ἵνα* can be followed by the future indicative in spite of the manuscript evidence. He actually says that forms like *ἵνα ἀναπαήσονται* (Rev. 14 : 13) and *ἵνα ἔσται* (Rev. 22 : 14) "sont des subjonctifs, quand elles sont précédées de *ἵνα*."

VOM REINEN WORT GOTTES UND VOM LUCAS-PROLOG

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VOM REINEN WORT GOTTES UND VOM LUCAS-PROLOG

§ 1

Die Reformation war ein mächtiger Kampf um das reine Wort Gottes. In der Augsburgischen Confession vom Jahre 1530 heisst es bezeichnenderweise da, wo der lateinische Text einfach von *scripturae* redet, im Deutschen "das reine göttliche Wort." Dies "rein" wurde der Erweiterung und Verfälschung durch Tradition und Apokryphen gegenüber betont. War doch grade am Ausgang des Mittelalters das Biblische durch die kirchliche Tradition völlig überwuchert und der Unterschied zwischen Kanonisch und Apokryph im Bewusstsein der Meisten gänzlich verloren gegangen. In diesem Punkte waren sich alle Reformatoren einig. In der Durchführung freilich gingen die Wittenberger und die Schweizer verschiedene Wege.

Luther, dem nur an der Sache lag, dachte an den reinen Verstand des Evangeliums, wie er es, zumal an der Hand des paulinischen Römerbriefes, als sündenvergebende Gnade erfahren hatte. In keinem der unter seinem Einflusse entstandenen Bekenntnisse findet sich ein Verzeichnis der "kanonischen" Bücher. Er hat wohl im Alten Testament die über die hebräische Bibel überschiessenden Stücke der griechischen und lateinischen Kirchenbibel als "Apokrypha, das sind Bücher, so der Heiligen Schrift nicht gleich gehalten, und doch nützlich und gut zu lesen sind" nach dem Alten Testament zusammengestellt, aber sie doch nicht ganz aus seiner Bibel ausgeschieden. Ebenso

hat er bei dem Neuen Testament aus dem Hebräerbrief, dem Jacobusbrief, dem Judasbrief und der Johannes-Offenbarung eine solche Gruppe minderer Autorität, einen Anhang, gebildet. In dem vorangestellten Verzeichnis der Bücher des Neuen Testaments sind sie durch einen Zwischenraum von den vorangehenden 23 Schriften getrennt; sie sind nicht in die Zählung aufgenommen und bei den Verfassernamen fehlt das "Sanct"![1] Aber auch hier machte er sein eignes Urteil nicht so weit geltend, dass er diese vier Bücher ganz ausgeschaltet hätte. Er hielt sich an die Tradition und schaltete doch ganz frei mit ihr. So folgt er auch der im ganzen Mittelalter üblichen Gewöhnung, die Bibel mit Vorreden zum Ganzen wie zu jedem einzelnen Buch auszustatten, wenn er seiner Bibel die bekannten Vorreden beigab. Aber es waren eben seine und nicht die überkommenen Vorreden, ganz aus seinem Geiste geboren und seine Auffassung darlegend.

Ganz anders die Schweizer: sie fassten das reine Wort Gottes auch formal als eine von allen menschlichen Zutaten gereinigte Bibel. Wie sie in ihre Bekenntnisschriften Verzeichnisse der Bücher der heiligen Schrift aufnahmen, in denen alle Apokryphen fehlen, so haben sie auch aus den gedruckten Bibeln diese entfernt,[2] was dann auf englischem Boden zu dem

[1] Man muss dies Verzeichnis zum Neuen Testament vom September 1522, das übrigens in den folgenden Ausgaben immer so wiederkehrt, mit dem zum Alten Testament von 1526 vergleichen, um Luthers Meinung ganz zu erkennen.

[2] In der Zürcher 16°-Bibel von 1527/9 bilden allerdings die Apokryphen einen eigenen, den 5., Band, vor dem NT; in der 8°-Bibel von 1530 stehen sie hinter dem NT. In der englischen Bibel verschwinden sie allmählich von c. 1630 an; s. British and Foreign Bible Society, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles* I, 1903, nrs 266 287 327 348 358 362 363 400 403 407 408 409 410 411 412 . . . gegen 250 270 271 273 280 283 285 324 331 332 333 334 368 401 403 . . . ; vgl. p. xii.

bekannten Apokryphenstreit geführt hat, der bis auf unsere Tage in den Schwierigkeiten betreffs der Coronation-Bible fortwirkt.[1] Ebenso haben sie die Vorreden und dergleichen als menschliches Beiwerk aus der Bibel beseitigt,[2] was freilich nicht hinderte, dass die damals als Bestandteil des heiligen Textes geltenden Unterschriften zu den einzelnen Büchern, die doch auch nur der Niederschlag gelehrter Arbeit aus der Zeit der alten Kirche sind, in der Bibel beibehalten wurden.

Die Schweizer — man darf hier Züricher und Genfer zusammenfassen — glaubten damit den Kampf gegen die Tradition erst wirksam aufzunehmen. Sie ahnten nicht, dass sie selbst damit auch einer Tradition folgten, einem Zuge, der sich bis weit in die vorreformatorische Zeit zurückverfolgen lässt, der vielleicht mit waldensischem Purismus zusammenhängt und der schliesslich auf die Übung der alten Kirche zurückgeht.

In derselben Zeit, da die grossen kirchlichen Ausleger, ein Athanasius, Theodoret, Hieronymus und andere ihre Vorreden verfassten, wurden, wie wir an den grossen Codices des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus und anderen, sehen, die Bibeln noch ohne Vorreden abgeschrieben. Die aus der Rhetorenschule stammende Sitte der Vorreden ist

[1] Die British and Foreign Bible Society darf satzungsgemäss keine Bibel mit Apokryphen drucken. Die von ihr zur Krönung König Eduards VII. gestiftete Prachtbibel konnte deshalb zu dem Krönungseid nicht benutzt werden, da hierzu eine Vollbibel gehört.

[2] Huldreich Zwingli hat freilich eine lange Vorrede zur Bibel, die noch in die Zürcher Bibel Aufnahme gefunden hat. Zu Olivetans Bibel 1535 schreibt Calvin eine Vorrede, ebenso zu deren späteren Revisionen z.B. 1551. Die englische Authorised Version hat ein Vorwort der Übersetzer an den Leser, das die begeisterten Baconianer für ihren Heros in Anspruch nehmen. Aber von diesen allgemeinen Vorreden abgesehen, gibt es keine Einzelvorreden zu den einzelnen Büchern wie in der Vulgata und bei Luther.

vielleicht zuerst von Ketzern auf die Bibel übertragen worden: kurze Vorreden zu den Paulusbriefen sind, wie wir seit Dom Donatien de Bruyne wissen, marcionitischen, die längeren zu den Evangelien monarchianischen oder priscillianistischen Ursprungs.[1] Sie sind trotzdem in die lateinische Kirchenbibel eingedrungen, und später hat der gefeierte Name des Hieronymus auch sie mit gedeckt. Sie werden im Spätmittelalter als ein integrierender Bestandteil der Bibel behandelt und von den Auslegern mit kommentiert.

Gleichzeitig aber entstanden Bibeln, die dies ganze Beiwerk abstiessen. Man kannte seit Wilhelm Walther's grossem Werk über " die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters " (Braunschweig, 1889–92) einzelne solche. Man schenkte dieser Erscheinung wenig Beachtung, hielt sie wohl für die Eigenart eines deutschen Bibelübersetzers oder seines Kreises.

Man wird sie aber wohl in einen grösseren Zusammenhang zu stellen haben. Diese deutschen Bibeln weisen nach Böhmen, und hier müssen schon in vorhussitischer Zeit Beziehungen zu den Valdensern (und Albigensern ?) Südfrankreichs bestanden haben. Während in Nordfrankreich die sogenannte *Bible historiale* sich durch Umformung des Wortlautes und Aufnahme ausserbiblischer Stoffe soweit als denkbar von der eigentlichen Bibel entfernte, hat sich in Südfrankreich ein wenn auch eigenartiger, doch auf sehr alte Überlieferung zu rückgehender reiner Bibeltext

[1] Don. de Bruyne, rev. bénéd. 24, 1907, 1–16; P. Corssen, Monarchianische Prologe, Texte und Untersuchungen 15, 1, 1896; J. Chapman. Notes on the early history of the Vulgate Gospels, 1908, 238–253; E. v. Dobschütz, Die evangelische Theologie, ihr jetziger Stand und ihre Aufgaben: 2. das Neue Testament, Halle Waisenhaus 1927, 8.

erhalten. Dort im Norden spielte das gelehrte Material der Vorreden eine grosse Rolle. Hier im Süden setzte sich die altkirchliche Übung fort, den Text ohne Beigaben zu geben.

Die beiden Tendenzen lassen sich am besten an einer höchst merkwürdigen Auswirkung studieren, die sie am Ende des Mittelalters erfahren haben. Sie betrifft den sogenannten Prolog des Lucas.

§ 2

Lucas hat seinem Evangelium eine kurze Vorrede 1, 1–4 vorangestellt, die sich von dem Evangelium selbst stilistisch und sachlich stark abhebt, ähnlich wie das Vorwort des Siraciden von der Übersetzung der Schrift seines Grossvaters. Es ist literarisches Griechisch, es sind schriftstellerische Reflexionen, was beides dem Evangelium fehlt. Dennoch gehören diese Verse zum Evangelium, so gewiss, wie der Eingang der Apostelgeschichte zu diesem zweiten Teil der Schrift des Lucas. Der Kontrast zwischen diesem echt hellenistischen Eingang mit seiner Widmung an den vornehmen Theophilus und dem, was dann gleich darauf folgt, der ganz im Stil des Alten Testaments gehaltenen Erzählung, ist schriftstellerisch fein berechnet.

Die Bezeichnung dieser vier ersten Verse des Lucasevangeliums als Prolog ist nun keineswegs erst modern, etwa als Ergebnis der heutigen Stilkritik. Sie kommt schon im Mittelalter auf und hat in der Textüberlieferung zu sehr merkwürdigen Folgen geführt, die man bisher nur auf dem Gebiet der mittelalterlichen deutschen Bibel beobachtet hatte, die sich aber auch in der lateinischen Bibel nachweisen lassen. Um es kurz zu

sagen: dieser Prolog des Lucas wird den anderen Prologen gleichgestellt und fällt schliesslich jener puristischen Tendenz, von der wir ausgingen, zum Opfer!

Die Sache hat auch kunstgeschichtliche Bedeutung. In den frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften bildet, wie jeder Kenner der Handschriften-Illumination weiss, das *Quoniam* Luc 1, 1 den Anfang des Evangeliums. *Q* erscheint als prächtiger Zierbuchstabe [1] und wird später gern mit einem Bild des Evangelisten oder seines Symbols ausgefüllt, wozu es sich seiner Form nach sehr gut eignet. Bei 1, 5 wird in dieser älteren Zeit meist gar kein besonderer Abschnitt gemacht. Freilich finden sich einzelne alte Handschriften, in denen neben *Quoniam* 1, 1 auch *Fuit* 1, 5 hervorgehoben ist, so z.B. in dem Evangeliar von Echternach (northumbrischer, letztlich wohl süditalischer Herkunft, saec. VIII), während die Bibel von La Cava (spanischer Herkunft, saec. IX) den ganzen Prolog 1, 1–4 in Uncialschrift von der sonst angewandten wisigotischen Schrift abhebt. In den meisten der aus alter Zeit stammenden Kapitelverzeichnisse sind die Verse 1, 1–4 übersprungen, und Cap. I beginnt erst mit Zacharias (1, 5 ff.).[2] Daher findet sich auch die Kapitelzahl I in manchen, auch in alten Handschriften zu 1, 5 an den Rand gesetzt.[3]

[1] s.z.B. R. M. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge 1912), pl. XIII.

[2] So von den bei Wordsworth und White, I 274–306 und 691–702 abgedruckten die Spalten II, III, IV, VI, VII, VIII, d.h. die spanische (*C T*), römisch-englische (*ƒ O X B*), irische (*D Q G, Ept*) Gruppe, Theodulph (*θ*) und Alchuin (*K*). Nur die Capp-tab Sp I (Cassiodor-Gruppe *A Y, H, V*) und Sp. V (norditalisch-ostgotisch *ƒ*) berücksichtigen 1, 1–4 als cap. I und beginnen 1, 5 schon cap. II.

[3] Martianay hat darüber eine zelehrte Note zu Hieronymus Bibelübersetzung, abgedruckt MSL 29, 607 a.

Dies wirkt sich nun dahin aus, dass im späteren Mittelalter in fast allen Handschriften 1, 5 als der eigentliche Anfang des Evangeliums erscheint. Der Initial-Buchstabe für Lucas wird vom 13. Jahrhundert an das F von *Fuit* 1, 5. Es giebt freilich reich illuminierte Handschriften, die auch bei den Prologen prächtige bildgeschmückte Initialen haben: hier wird man als Regel finden, dass im *Q* sich nur das Evangelistensymbol (für Lucas der Stier), im *F* aber das Evangelistenbild oder das Bild, wie Zacharias die Offenbarung des Engels im Tempel empfängt, findet.

Nun ist dieser Prolog des Lucas nicht der einzige Prolog für Lucas. Seit Alters wurden den Evangelien die schon erwähnten sog. Monarchianischen Prologe beigegeben, also in unserem Falle das Stück *Lucas natione Syrus Antiochensis . . . fastidientibus prodidisse.*[1] Diese Prologe haben mit Hieronymus nichts zu tun. Da aber Hieronymus den Späteren als der Prologschreiber schlechthin galt, wird sein Name auch diesen Stücken oft beigegeben.[2] In der älteren Zeit (etwa bis 1200) ist dieser Prolog von dem Evangelium selbst meist durch eine Kapitelübersicht getrennt; diese Kapiteltafeln fallen seit dem 13. Jahrhundert fast ganz fort, und so rückt jener Prolog unmittelbar vor das Evangelium.

So hatte dieses denn zwei Prologe, die wir nach den Anfangsworten kurz als Prolog *L*(*ucas*) und *Q*(*uoniam*) bezeichnen wollen (I). Jener heisst in der älteren

[1] Beachtenswerte Varianten: ∞ *Syrus nat.*, oder — *nat.*; *anthiocensis* u.s.w.; dafür kommt spät *antiochenus* auf, woraus *syrus et ant.* entsteht. Statt *prodidisse* oft *prodesse.*

[2] Von den Handschriften bei Wordsworth und White haben dies nur *θ* und die *edd.*

Uberlieferung *praefatio* oder *argumentum; prologus* kommt erst im 8. Jahrhundert auf und wird durch Alchuin verbreitet.[1] Dies bot ein Mittel, die beiden Vorreden zu unterscheiden, wobei jedoch gegen die alte Tradition meist *L* als *prologus*, *Q* als *argumentum*, *praefatio* oder auch *prooemium* bezeichnet wurde.[2] Meist aber nannte man beide *prologus*, und von hier aus entstanden nun die Wirrungen. Wenn man *prologus, item alius prologus* vor sich hatte, so konnte niemand ahnen, dass letzterer ein Teil des Evangeliums sei. Wohl mochte ein des ursprünglichen Tatbestandes kundiger Schreiber bei dem 2. ein *prologus ipsius Lucae* oder ähnlich setzen, was dann bei der Zuweisung des 1. an Hieronymus dazu führte, dass man gleichsam ein Vorwort des Übersetzers und ein Vorwort des Verfassers neben einander hatte (II). Aber meist blieb es doch bei der Anonymität. Und da nun die in der Regel erst nachträglich eingefügten Überschriften in roter Tinte gelegentlich auch wegblieben,[3] so wurde *Q* vereinzelt so an *L* angeschoben, als sei es ein Stück davon, wie sich in anderen Handschriften eine Beschwörung des Lesers durch den Schreiber, ihm die Fehler zu verzeihen, an *L* angeschoben findet, die

[1] *Praef.* in *AY, H, B; arg.* in *Ept, IK, DQ; prol.* in *Z c, MT, V.*

[2] In der späten Zeit *p̄phatio* und *phemium* geschrieben. In dem anonymen Kommentar in VAT ROSS 147 heisst es: *praemittit enim prohemium suum lucas dicens: Q.*

[3] Zunächst wohl nur, weil der vom Schreiber verschiedene Miniator oder Rubricator sie einzufügen vergass; das sieht man noch an dem freigelassenen Raum. Bei einer weiteren Abschrift blieb dann leicht auch dieser als überflüssig fort. Manchmal setzte der Schreiber, um die Arbeit des Rubricators zu erleichtern und zu sichern, den in rot auszuführenden Text schon in schwarz an den unteren Rand, so tief, dass dies beim Beschneiden wegfallen sollte, was dann nicht immer geschah — ein gutes Beispiel solcher erhaltenen Vorschriften in CASANATENSIS 1461.

damit garnichts zu tun hat.[1] Hier ist also Luc. 1, 1–4 im *L*-Prolog verschwunden! (III).

Wenn man aber 2 Prologe hatte, warum sollte dann nicht der kürzere voranstehen? So treffen wir verhältnismässig oft auf die Reihenfolge *Q L F(uit)* (IV).

Damit ist denn dies Anfangsstück des Evangeliums ganz von dem Evangelium selbst losgerissen. Kein Leser kann mehr ahnen, dass es dazu gehört. Und wenn nun jene puristische Welle kommt, von der wir eingangs sprachen, wird dies losgelöste, als anonymer Prolog gewertete Stück einfach mit fortgerissen: so kommt es schliesslich dazu, dass Luc. 1, 1–4 in einzelnen jungen Bibeln ganz fehlt (V).

Leider sind wir noch nicht so weit, die dargelegte Entwicklung in ihren einzelnen Stufen und Zweigen genau nach Ort und Zeit festlegen zu können. Nur soviel kann man wohl jetzt schon sagen, dass die sog. Pariser Bibel, d.h. eine mit der Universität offiziell nicht verbundene Buchhändlerspeculation des 13. Jahrhunderts, die an Stelle der unhandlichen Vorlesebibel des Frühmittelalters eine handliche Lese- und Studier-Bibel schuf, daran wesentlich beteiligt ist. Ihr Text verbreitete sich über alle Länder. So finden wir denn auch die verschiedenen Formen weit verbreitet.

[1] In VAT LAT 119, einem N T mit Glosse: *lectorem obsecro studiose paginas recensentem libri huius ea quae incaute contra eas stili percurrentis designata vestigio sunt, non meo conjungat errori, sed peto meae ignoscete ignorantiae et quia obstinatio legentis ampliata virtus exercitur ad purum docilis suis mentis mee favoribus meique memor benigne.* — denselben Zusatz vor dem Prolog bietet CASANAT. 1302 Dom de Bruyne fand ihn noch in folgenden 16 Handschriften: Berlin theol fol 316, und 365, und 422, Berlin Phillips 1649, Brüssel 7456, Cambrai 270, und 326, Grenoble 4, London Br. M. add. 35167, Oxford reg 323, Paris B.N.lat 163, und 204, und 11510, Rom Vat lat 5729 (sog. Farfa-Bibel, span.), Trier Sem. 40, Vich 89.

Ich gebe im folgenden eine aus Handschriften der Vaticana und der Casanatensis geschöpfte Übersicht über die verschiedenen Formen, die sich finden. Ich muss es anderen überlassen, diese durch die Handschriftenschätze von Paris, London u.s.w. zu ergänzen. Erst wenn eine solche Einzelheit wie die uns beschäftigende systematisch durch alle Handschriften hin verfolgt ist, wird man diese gruppieren und eine Geschichte der Vulgata im Spätmittelalter schreiben können. Eine solche aber ist die unerlässliche Voraussetzung für alle Arbeiten über die Bibel in den verschiedenen Volkssprachen.

A. $\mathfrak{Q}$ *F* (d.h. ohne die Vorrede *L*; 1, 1 und 5 hervorgehoben)
(1) **prologus super lucam** $\mathfrak{Q}$
incipit evangelium secundum lucam; a. Rd. I. *F*
CASANAT 1466 Bibel in kl-8° sc. XIV/XV
(2) **incipit prologus beati luce** $\mathfrak{Q}$
ohne rubr; a.R. I. *F*
VAT LAT 38 NT in fol sc. XIII $\mathfrak{Q} = F$
ähnlich der deutsche codex TEPLENSIS: **die vorrede lucas** *W* (= $\mathfrak{Q}$); **das erste Cap.** *E* (= *F*)
(3) ohne rubr $\mathfrak{Q}\overline{m}$ *Fuit* (Seitenkopf: LV/CĀ)
VAT OTTOB LAT 670 Miniaturbibel kleinsten Formats sc. XIII

B. *L* $\mathfrak{Q}$ (d.h. Vorrede **lucas;** Evangelium beginnt mit 1. 1)
a. vgl. *A H Y. B*; capp-tab I (*AHVY*)
incipit praefatio in evang. sec. lucam *L*
incipiunt capitula
incipit evangeium secundum lucam $\mathfrak{Q}$
VAT LAT 40 NT in fol a. 1469 (offenbar Abschrift einer alten Vorlage)
VAT. PAL. LAT. 21 Bibel in 8° sc. XV
b. vgl. *D* $\mathfrak{Q}$ *Ept I K*
incipit argumentum evangelii sec. lucam *L*

incipit evangelium secundum lucam ℭ
VAT. URB. LAT. 3 Evv. sc. X
VAT. URB. LAT. 10 Evv. sc. XV
(Abschrift aus 3 ?)

c. vgl. *c Z* **MartTur Vallic**

(1) **incipit prologus super lucam** *L*
explicit prologus incipit evangelium luce ℭ
VAT PALAT LAT 19 Bibel in 8° sc. XIII/XIV

(2) **incipit evangelium secundum lucam. prologus in evangelio luce** *L*
explicit prologus in evangelio luce; ohne weiteres rubr beginnt ℭ
VAT LAT 1 Bibel in fol a. 1454: ℭ mit Evangelistenbild.

(3) **incipit evangelium secundum lucham** *L*
explicit argumentum sec. lucham. incipit prologus super evangelium ℭ
ohne rubr.; a.R. c.I. (*F*)
VAT LAT 35 Bibel in 8° sc. XIV (*L* und ℭ grosse Initialen; *F* klein)

(4) **incipit prologus sc̄i jeronimi presbiteri in evangelio sec. lucam** *L*
explicit prologus. incipit evangelium secundum lucam ℭ
(bei 1, 5 *F* rubr in der Zeile)
VAT OTTOB LAT 329 Bibel in fol sc. XII/XIII

(5) **incipit prohemium in evangelio beati luce evangeliste** *L*
ohne rubr capp-tab
incipit evangelium beati luce evangeliste ℭ
bei 1, 5 alinea mit I und ganz kleiner Majuskel *F*
CASANAT 1690 Bibel in kl-8° sc. XIII/XIV

(6) **incipit prologus super evangelium secundum lucam** *L*

explicit prologus. incipit prohemium (*Q*)
(*M*) *ULTI* darunter von 2. Hand *qm̄ multi*
bei, 1, 5 *F* garnicht hervorgehoben, a.Rd. von spät. Hd **incipit evangelium luce**
VAT OTTOB LAT 469 Bibel in fol sc. XII/XIII: ganz kleine Schrift, sehr breite Ränder.

d. rubr fehlen; *F* ganz klein in der Zeile
CASANAT 1442 Bibel in kl-8° sc. XIV

C. *L Q F* (d.h. mit Vorrede *Lucas;* Evangelium beginnt 1, 1, aber bei 1, 5 ist ein Abschnitt markiert)

(1) **incipit prologus secundum lucam** *L*
explicit prologus ohne rubr capp-tab
incipit prologus in lucam *Q*
ohne rubr; in der Zeile ohne Majuskel; a.Rd von spät. Hd **incipit lucas** (*F*)
VAT OTTOB LAT 512 Miniaturbibel in 32° sc. XIV

(2) **incipit prologus in librum luce evangeliste** *L*
ohne rubr capp-tab
incipit alius prologus *Q*
ohne rubr, in der Zeile mit kleiner roter Majuskel (*F*)
VAT ROSSIAN 254 Bibel in fol sc. XIII (XIV?)
Q mit Bild: Evangelist mit Stierkopf

(3) **incipit lucas evangelista. prologus super lucam** *L*
lucas evangelista *Q*
ohne rubr, aber Abschnitt *F*
VAT ROSS 316 Bibel in 16° sc. XIV *Q*
mit Evangelistensymbol vor *F* ausgezeichnet

(4) Ohne rubr, *Q* ganz grosse über beide Spalten gehende, 1/3 Seite einnehemende Bild-Initiale, *F* grösser als *L*
VAT LAT 39 NT in 8° sc. XIII: reich illustriert

(5) ohne rubr, *L Q F* (klein)
CASANAT 1042 Bibel in fol sc. XIII/XIV

I. *L* ℚ *F*

a. (1) **incipit praefatio sci̅ <ieronimi> in evangelio secundum lucam** *L*
explicit praefatio. incipit prologus in evang. sec. lucam ℚ
explicit prologus. incipit evangelium secundum lucam *F*
VAT LAT 36 Bibel in 8° sc. XIV: *L* mit Evangelistensymbol, ℚ mit Evangelistenbild, *F* klein

(2) **praefatio sancti hieronimi presbiteri in evangelium beati luce evangeliste ex greco in latinum per eum traductum** *L*
item alius prologus ℚ
explicit argumentum beati hieronimi presbiteri in evangelium beati luce evangeliste. incipit evangelium beati luce evangeliste ex greco in latinum traductum *F*
VAT URBIN LAT 1–2 Riesenprachtbibel für Herzog Federigo 1476–78

b. (1) **incipit prologus** *L*
incipit argumentum ℚ
incipit evangelium secundum lucam *F*
VAT LAT 25 Bibel in 4° sc. XIII: ℚ kleiner, *F* grösser als *L*
VAT ROSS 154 Bibel in kl–4° sc. XIV *L* = ℚ, *F* grösser
VAT ROSS 255 Bibel in fol sc. XIII 2. Hälfte, Bologna: *F* mit Evangelistenbild
CASANAT 1691 Bibel in kl–8° sc. XIV ℚ kleiner als *L*, *F* gross

1. **prol.** + **in lucam** ROSS 154; **secundum lucam** CAS 1691; **in evangelium secundum lucam** ROSS 255| |2. + **explicit prologus** ROSS 255 CAS 1691| |3. + **explicit argumentum** ROSS 154 CAS 1691|**liber secundum lucam evangelistam** CAS 1691

(2) **incipit prologus jeronimi presbiteri super lucam** *L*
explicit prologus. incipit argumentum *Q*
explicit argumentum. incipit evangelium secundum lucam *F*
VAT LAT 22 Bibel in fol sc. XIV: *F* mit Evangelistenbild
VAT LAT 30 Bibel in gr-8° sc. XIV ital. *Q* ganz klein, *F* mit Evangelistensymbol
VAT PALAT LAT 12 Bibel sc. XV
VAT ROSS 315 Bibel in kl-8° sc. XIV *L* = *Q* ganz klein, *F* grösser
VAT ROSS 320 Bibel in 32° sc. XIV *F* gross
1. **beati jer.** ROSS 315, sc̄i jer. VAT 30 ROSS 320 | **super lucam** VAT 22, **in lucam** ROSS 320, **in evangelio** (+ **bt̄i** ROSS 315) **luce** VAT 30 ROSS 315| |2. **expl. prol.** — ROSS 315| |3. **expl. arg.** — ROSS 315

c. (1) **incipit prologus super lucam** *L*
item alius prologus *Q*
incipit evangelium secundum lucam *F*
VAT LAT 20 Bibel in fol sc. XV *L* = *Q*, *F* mit Bild
VAT LAT 29 Bibel in 16° sc. XIV *Q* ganz klein
VAT LAT 31 Bibel in 8° sc. XIV ex
VAT LAT 32 Bibel in kl-8° sc. XIII/XIV *F* mit Evangelistenbild
VAT LAT 37 Bibel in kl-8° sc. XIV
VAT PALAT LAT 15 Bibel in 4° sc. XIV
VAT PALAT LAT 18 Bibel in kl-4° sc. XIV
VAT PALAT LAT 20 Bibel in 8° sc. XIV
VAT PALAT LAT 6–7 Bibel sc. XV
VAT ROSS 317 Bibel in 16° sc. XIV/XV *L* = *Q*, *F* gross

VAT ROSS 319 Bibel in 32° sc. XIV: $\mathfrak{Q}$ ganz klein, *F* gross

VAT ROSS 321 Bibel in 32° sc. XIV: $\mathfrak{Q}$ ganz klein, *F* = *L*

VAT ROSS 342 Bibel in 32° sc. XIV: $\mathfrak{Q}$ = *L*, *F* grösser

VAT URB LAT 7 Bibel in fol sc. XIV: $\mathfrak{Q}$ klein, *F* mit Bild (Zacharias und Elisabeth)

VAT OTTOB LAT 248 Bibel in 16° sc. XIV ex: *L* = $\mathfrak{Q}$, *F* grösser

VAT OTTOB LAT 665 Miniaturbibel in 32° sc. XIII: *F* mit Bild (Zacharias)

CASANAT 270 Bibel in 8° sc. XIV: $\mathfrak{Q}$ kleiner als *L*, *F* gross

CASANAT 1280 Bibel in kl-4° sc. XIV/XV *F* mit Evangelistenbild

1. **prol.** + **sc̄i jeronimi** VAT 20 | **super lucam** VAT 20 31, **luce** VAT 29, **luce evangeliste** PAL 1518 ROSS 342 URB CAS 270, **in lucam evangelistam** VAT 37 PAL 20 CAS 1280, **in evangelium luce** ROSS 317 OTTOB 248, **in evangelium secundum lucam** VAT 32 ROSS 319, **in libro luce evangeliste** PAL 6–7 | | 2. **item: incipit** VAT 20 29; — VAT 32 ROSS 319 321; + **in evang. luce** ROSS 317° | |3. + **explicit prologus** VAT 20 32 37 URB OTTOB 248 | | **evang. sec. luc.** VAT 31 32 37 OTTOB 248 (+ .I.): **evang. luce** VAT 20 ROSS 317, **lucas evangelista** PAL 18 20 6–7 URB OTTOB 665 ROSS 321 CAS 270 1280, **liber** VAT 29, **liber luce evangeliste** PAL 15 ROSS 342

So auch die 14 gedruckten deutschen Bibeln:

hie endet das buch marcus des evangelisten und hebt an die vorrede über das buch luce des evangelisten *D* = *L*

hie endet die erste vorrede und hebt an die ander uber lucam den evangelisten $W = \mathfrak{Q}$
hie hebt an sant. lucas der evangelist $E = F$
W. Kurrelmeyer I 189 ff., dazu S. XXIX.

d. ohne rubr, *L* und $\mathfrak{Q}$-Init., *F* grosse Init.
VAT PALAT LAT 22 Bibel in 8° sc. XV
VAT ROSS 127 Bibel in 8° sc. XIV
VAT ROSS 128 Bibel in 8° sc. XIV
VAT ROSS 129 Bibel in kl-8° sc. XIII
CASANAT 1694 Bibel in kl-8° sc. XIV: $\mathfrak{Q}$ ganz klein, *F* mit Evangelistenbild, auch die Biblia glossata, die *L* in der Schrift des h. Textes nur ganzzeilig, weil mit wenig Kommentar, hat, dann $\mathfrak{Q}$ und *F* dreispaltig, mit Kommentar links und rechts vom Text
VAT LAT 119 NT in fol sc. XIII/XIV: *F* mit Bild (Zacharias)
VAT LAT 120 NT in fol sc. XIV: *L* mit Bild *F* mit gr. Bild (Zacharias)
VAT LAT 121 NT in fol sc. XIII/XIV: $F = \mathfrak{Q}$
VAT LAT 122 Evv in fol sc. XIV: $\mathfrak{Q}$ mit Evangelistensymbol, *F* mit Bild (Zacharias)
CASANAT 1302 Luc in kl-fol sc. XIV

II. *L* $\mathfrak{Q}$ (als Lucas' Werk bezeichnet) *F*

a. **incipit prologus in lucam** *L*
incipit praefatio luce in evangelium suum $\mathfrak{Q}$
incipit evangelium secundum lucam *F*
VAT LAT 17 Bibel in fol sc. XIV ex: *F* mit Bild (Zacharias)
VAT LAT 18 Bibel in fol sc. XIV ex: $\mathfrak{Q} = F$ 1. **prol.** + **bti jeronimi** 18 | **lucam** + **evangelistam** 18 || 1. | 2. + capp-tab ohne rubr; am Schluss **expliciunt capitula** 18 || 2. **p̄fatio** 18, **prohemium** 17 | **bti luche** 18 | **in-**18 || 3. + **explicit argumentum** (!) 17, **explicit praefatio** (!) 18

b. (1) **incipit prologus beati jeronimi in evangelium luce** *L*
explicit prologus incipit argumentum beati luce in evangelium suum 𝔔
explicit argumentum incipit evangelium beati luce *F*
VAT LAT 23 Bibel in fol sc. XIV: *L* mit Bild, 𝔔 nur Ornament, *F* mit Evangelistenbild

(2) **explicit evang. sec. marc.** dann ohne rubr *L*
explicit praefatio. incipit argumentum luce 𝔔
explicit argumentum. incipit evang. sec. lucam *F*
VAT ROSS 183 Bibel in fol sc. XIII/XIV *F* mit Bild (Zacharias)

c. (1) **incipit prologus** *L*
incipit prologus luce evangeliste 𝔔
incipit lucas evangelista *F*
VAT OTTOB LAT 523 Miniaturbibel in 32° sc. XIV: *F* mit Evangelistenbild

(2) **incipit prologus beati jeronimi super lucam** *L*
incipit prologus ipsius luce 𝔔
incipit evangelium secundum lucam *F*
VAT LAT 26 Bibel in fol sc. XIV ex (a. 1377?): *L* = 𝔔, *F* mit Evangelistenbild

III. *L* (𝔔 als Anhang dazu) *F*

(1) **prologus** *L*
ohne rubr, aber mit Absatz 𝔔
lucas *F*
VAT OTTOB LAT 2910 Bibel in fol sc. XIV: *L* = 𝔔, *F* grösser

(2) **incipit prologus sc̄i jeronimi presbiteri in evangelium secundum lucam** (*L*)
ohne rubr, doch mit Absatz und ausgespartem Raum für die Init (𝔔)
explicit prologus sc̄i jeronimi presbiteri in evangelium secundum lucam. dann ohne neues rubr (*F*)

VAT OTTOB LAT 297 Bibel in fol sc. XV: alle Init fehlen, Raum für $L = \mathfrak{Q}$ für F grösser

(3) **prologus in sanctum evangelium secundum lucam** L

ohne rubr, ohne Absatz, in der Zeile mit kleiner Majuskel $\mathfrak{Q}$

incipit sanctum evangelium secundum lucam F

VAT LAT 24 Bibel in 4° sc. XIII

IV. $\mathfrak{Q}\ L\ F$

a. **incipit praefatio luce evangeliste** $\mathfrak{Q}$

incipit prologus L

explicit prologus. incipit evangelium secundum lucam evangelistam dn̄i nr̄i jh̄u xp̄i F

VAT OTTOB LAT 532 Bibel in 16° sc. XIII/XIV: $\mathfrak{Q}$ in N, dies $N = L, F$ grösser; das rubr 3 so lang zur Raumausfüllung!

aa. **incipit evangelium secundum lucam** $\mathfrak{Q}$

incipit praefatio L

explicit praefatio. incipit evangelium sec. lucam F

VAT LAT 19 Bibel in fol sc. XIV: $\mathfrak{Q} = L$, F mit Bild (Zacharias)

b. **incipit argumentum** $\mathfrak{Q}$

incipit prologus super lucam evangelistam L

incipit lucas evangelista F

VAT LAT 34 Bibel in 8° sc. XIV/XV

CASANAT 1476 Bibel in kl-8° sc. XIV $\mathfrak{Q}$ klein, L grösser, F gross

1. + **in evangelium luce** CAS || 2. + **explicit argumentum** CAS | **evang. luce** CAS || 3. **incipit secundum lucam** CAS

c. (1) **prologus in evangelium luce** $\mathfrak{Q}$

item alius prologus L

incipit evangelium F

VAT PALAT LAT 1 Riesenbibel sc. XV

VAT ROSS 153 Bibel in 4° sc. XIII *F* mit Bild (Zacharias)

VAT ROSS 130 Bibel in gr-8° sc. XIV *F* mit Bild (Zacharias)

CASANAT 5 Bibel in kl-8° sc. XIII/XIV 1. **incipit prologus** ROSS 153 CAS | **in evangelio** ROSS 153 | **super lucam** ROSS 130 (evang-), **in lucam** CAS | | 2. + **explicit** ROSS 153 | **prol.** — ROSS 130 | | 3. + **explicit prologus** ROSS 153 CAS | **evang. sec. lucam** ROSS 153, **lucas propheta** (!) ROSS 130, **liber luce evangeliste** CAS

(2) **prologus beati jeronimi in lucam evangelistam** *Q*
alius prologus *L*
evangelium secundum lucam *F*

VAT OTTOB LAT 222 Bibel in fol sc. XIV: *F* mit Bild (Zacharias)

(3) **prologus luce evangeliste** *Q*
alius prologus *L*
incipit lucas evangelista *F*

VAT LAT 28 Bibel in 8° sc. XIII/XIV

VAT LAT 33 Bibel in 8° sc. XIII/XIV *F* mit Evangelistenbild

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luce. I. *F*
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VAT OTTOB LAT 513 Miniaturbibel in 32° sc. XIV

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A PRIMITIVE TRADITION IN MARK

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A PRIMITIVE TRADITION IN MARK

Modern study of the Second Gospel began in 1901 with William Wrede's *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, which disposed finally of the nineteenth-century conception of Mark as written with careful chronological order and psychological sequence. But the first systematic phrasing of the problems of Mark's purpose was Dr. B. W. Bacon's *The Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1909); here a thorough attempt was made to understand the Gospel as a document of Gentile church life after the fall of Jerusalem. Now the author, whom we honor in the present volume, would be the last person to claim finality for his conclusions and has, indeed, in his later works revised them in various matters of detail. None the less, for many years to come *The Beginnings of Gospel Story* should be the indispensable discipline for every student of Mark. And we in America may justly be proud that one of our own countrymen has anticipated by many years results which since the War have been published abroad under the rubric of "Formgeschichte." [1]

It is now clear that the vital problems of Synoptic study lie in the pre-evangelic period and are concerned with the primitive transmission of the tradition about Jesus. But the proper method of investigation is much disputed. Martin Dibelius in his *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (1919) proposed to start from the

[1] The writer wishes also to recall the debt scholarship owes to the work of Dr. Frank Chamberlin Porter.

inherent necessities of the Christian mission preaching; Georg Bertram in *Die Leidensgeschichte Jesu und der Christuskult* (1922) from the general characteristics of cult legends. Rudolf Bultmann's *Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition* (1921) sought to dispense with all *à priori* considerations and to work entirely from the form of the material.[1] Paul Fiebig in a long series of contributions, of which his *Der Erzählungsstil der Evangelien* (1925) is the latest, makes correspondence with Rabbinic models the determining factor. Somewhat more modest is the attempt of Martin Albertz, *Die Synoptischen Streitgespräche* (1921), to isolate a single Synoptic "form" and to treat it separately, much as Jülicher had treated the parables a generation earlier. But this apparent confusion in method is due to the complexity of the task. Even in the earliest Christian tradition there were present missionary motives, didactic motives, polemic motives, and cult motives, and all were crossed by influences arising from the tendency to use definite literary — or pre-literary — "forms." And, since applying all possible considerations to the total content of the Synoptic tradition is a task beyond the powers of any single investigator, the best promise for future advance lies at present in the detailed study of small sections. When a number of such studies have been accumulated, we shall be in a better position to appraise the extent of the factors that were operative.

Even Albertz essayed too great a task in attempting to bring all the controversy sections under a common classification; he failed to show that the controversy

[1] His recently published *Jesus* (1926), it may be noted, puts more confidence in the tradition than does his earlier work.

as such was a recognized "form" and his two subclasses of "tempting" and "non-tempting" controversies are too simple. None the less his suggestions have been so fruitful that the present paper will endeavor to apply something of his method to a single controversy series, which really does appear capable of isolation as a more or less independent element in the tradition.

In the first place, a distinction may be drawn among Jesus' controversies with the Jewish religious leaders when it is observed that certain of these are concerned solely with the nature of his authority, while others deal with a dispute involving some accepted belief or practice of the time; these two varieties represent different interests and would be governed by different laws of transmission. In Mark the following sections belong to the former type:

(*a*) 2 : 1–12. Authority to forgive sins.
(*b*) 3 : 22–30. The charge of possession.
(*c*) 8 : 11–13. The demand for a sign.
(*d*) 11 : 27–33. The demand for authority.[1]

In the second class we have ten sections:

(*a*) 2 : 13–17. Acceptance of sinners.
(*b*) 2 : 18–22. Neglect of fasting.
(*c*) 2 : 23–28. Disregard of Sabbath traditions.
(*d*) 3 : 1– 6. Healing on the Sabbath.
(*e*) 7 : 1–23. The true purity.
(*f*) 10 : 2–11. Divorce.
(*g*) 12 : 13–17. The legality of tribute.
(*h*) 12 : 18–27. The resurrection.
(*i*) 12 : 35–37. The nature of Messiahship.
(*j*) 12 : 38–40. Scribal hypocrisy.[2]

[1] Although the Parable of the Vineyard involves the same question, especially in verses 6 and 10, its form is hardly that of a controversy.

[2] 11 : 15–17 and 12 : 28–34 are not true controversies.

The last two of these sections are distinguished from the others by the absence of hostile speakers. And section (*e*) has obvious peculiarities; it is much longer than the rest and is vastly more complicated in structure. In common with (*f*) it closes with a private expansion of the public teaching, and (*f*), moreover, deals not with a specifically scribal doctrine but with what was in essence the uniform belief of contemporary Judaism. But the six remaining sections are strikingly similar in form. They are all of approximately the same length,[1] and the main structure is constant throughout. The situation is stated briefly; most elaborately in (*a*), where the call of Levi is made an integral part of the story. The party name is judged enough to describe the dissentients — in (*d*) not even this appears — except in (*h*) where it is explained that Sadducees deny the resurrection (12 : 18). Their objection is always put interrogatively, indirectly (3:2) in (*d*). Jesus' reply is a single *logion* or group of *logia;* in (*d*) a *logion* and an act of healing; in (*g*) the demand for a coin and Jesus' question are necessarily interpolated to prepare for the *logion.*[2] And with Jesus' words the scene ends; apart from 3 : 6 we have in addition only "and they marvelled greatly at him" in 12 : 17.

This close similarity in form points strongly to a

[1] In our texts of Mark this correspondence is remarkable. If 3 : 6 be disregarded as a note of the Evangelist's they are all exactly five verses long, with the exception of (*h*). And the greater length of (*h*) is chiefly due to the fact that five verses are needed to state the elaborate question of the Sadducees; in the others this question fills only a verse or in (*g*) a little more than a verse. But the precision of this correspondence is partly due to Mark's revision; see below.

[2] On the other hand in 11 : 29 the intermediate question is really the *logion.*

common origin for these sections, something that is strongly corroborated by other considerations. In the first place, the last verse of (*d*) is continued directly by the first verse of (*g*):

Mark 3:6: And the Pharisees went out and straightway with the Herodians took counsel against him, how they might destroy him.

Mark 12:13: And they sent unto him certain of the Pharisees and of the Herodians, that they might catch him in talk.

Now, apart from Matthew 22:16's reproduction of Mark 12:13, these are the only two occurrences of "Herodian" in the New Testament.[1] And the fact that one of these is in a Galilean setting while the other is placed in Jerusalem has always troubled the commentators, because two different explanations are necessitated. In Galilee "Herodians" can be understood easily enough to be the officials of Antipas, with whom rested the power of life and death. But this interpretation is impossible in Jerusalem, where Antipas had no authority, and so there they are explained as adherents of the Herodian rule, which was in abeyance. Since this rule depended on the good-will of Rome, the Herodians were for the time being supporters of Pilate; consequently they could have denounced Jesus with good grace, if he had forbidden tribute.

Either of these explanations may be satisfactory by itself, but the awkwardness of giving the same term divergent meanings in its only two occurrences has always been felt. And there are further difficulties.

[1] Luke omits the word in his parallels (Luke 6:11, 20:20); even if he knew its meaning, it would have conveyed nothing to his readers. Yet cf. Mark 8:15.

The plot in 3 : 6 leads nowhere; these Galilean Herodians and their plans are never heard of again. There is of course real evidence that friction developed between Antipas and Jesus and that the former assumed a threatening attitude. But the tradition does not represent these threats as being taken seriously (Luke 13 : 32 ff.), even though Jesus preferred to avoid trouble by leaving Galilee (Mark 9 : 30). But of opposition by adherents of Herod we do not hear a single word. In 12 : 13, however, the appearance of the Herodians and their subsequent disappearance are both natural. They were the one class of Jews who supported the payment of tribute and they were assuredly reproached by many of their countrymen for so doing; hence their question was in keeping.[1] And Jesus' reply disarmed them.

Again, as has often been noted, 3 : 6 stands much too early in Mark's Gospel. Luke felt the difficulty and reworded the verse (Luke 6 : 11), removing all mention of the contemplated murder. In Matthew, however, the passage stands at a later point (Matthew 12 : 14) and so revision was unnecessary.

Turning now to the contents of Mark 2 : 13–3 : 6 and 12 : 13–27 it may be observed that the material embodied would be of the utmost importance to the earliest Palestinian community, since it sets forth in the simplest and most concrete terms the *ethos* that distinguished the "Way" from other Jewish "ways." The brethren were not ashamed to recruit from among the *am-ha'aretz;* did not Jesus eat and drink with publicans and sinners? They paid no attention to the

[1] The significance of the mention of the Pharisees in this verse is discussed below.

fasts practised by the stricter Jews; had not Jesus disregarded these fasts? They did not permit the Sabbath laws to interfere with the satisfaction of legitimate human needs; had not Jesus so ruled both by precept and example? They felt no hesitation about paying tribute to Cæsar; Jesus had settled that question once and for all. And they were undisturbed by scholastic difficulties touching the resurrection; Jesus had based the necessity of a resurrection solidly on the Scriptures and, incidentally, had set aside current materialistic conceptions.

But among Gentile Christians these questions were archaistic, particularly in the Pauline circles to which Mark belonged. The Gentiles could have no conscientious scruples about making converts from the lower classes and were unfamiliar with the legal scrupulosity that raised the problem in Palestine. Among the adversaries attacked in the course of the New Testament Epistles we hear nothing of men who wished to make regular fasting obligatory; the doctrine that certain foods were to be avoided (Romans 14:2, etc.) belongs to an entirely different cycle of ideas. Gentiles were not at all concerned with whether the Sabbath laws should be interpreted strictly or liberally; only the most uncompromising Judaizers proposed to subject the Gentiles to Sabbath restrictions of any kind — a proposal that was anathema to Paulinists.[1] Religious difficulties about the payment of the imperial tribute

[1] In Mark 2 : 23–3 : 6 the divine obligation of the Sabbath law is of course assumed as axiomatic; only details of scribal interpretation are in point, and Albertz (page 10) notes that Jesus' decision in 2 : 23–25 might have pleased a Rabbi of the laxer school. Paul's attitude was the antithesis of this (Romans 14 : 5, Galatians 4 : 10, Colossians 2 : 16; cf. John 5 : 10, 17 and D's gloss after Luke 6 : 10).

are practically inconceivable outside of Palestine; to Paul taxes were a duty whose evasion was a sin against conscience (Romans 13 : 5–7). And, finally, while Gentiles undoubtedly found serious difficulties in accepting the doctrine of the resurrection, these difficulties were not of a kind to be met with an Old Testament proof-text. Nor did the Hellenistically minded need be told that marriage is not continued in the world to come.

All this evidence points definitely to a single conclusion. The two sections, Mark 2 : 13–3 : 6 and 12 : 13–27, formed originally a continuous whole, giving an account of Jesus' divergence from the teachings of the official Jewish religious leaders. And this account was formed in pre-Marcan times and belonged to the tradition of the Palestinian Christian community.

The problem of 3 : 6 thus receives a satisfactory solution. Mark's Galilean setting for the first part of the series compelled him to break off at 3 : 5, for tribute to Rome, the theme of the next paragraph, was paid only in Judea,[1] while the Sadducees of 12 : 18–27 were scarcely to be found in Galilee. But as 3 : 5 was too abrupt a conclusion for the first part, Mark wrote 3 : 6, forming it out of the next sentence in the tradition (12 : 13), without noticing (or caring) that he had made Galilean characters of the Herodians. The remainder of the tradition he was obliged to post-

[1] The *tributum capitis* was paid by provincials as a token of their dependence. But Galilee was no part of a Roman province; it was a "federated state," theoretically outside the *imperium romanum*, and its inhabitants were responsible only to Antipas for the payment of their taxes. The disturbances about the Roman tax that arose in A.D. 6 under Quirinius were confined to Judea (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XVIII, i, etc.).

pone until his narrative could treat of Jerusalem events.[1]

The series must now be examined for other revisions due to Mark. Of these the most familiar is 2 : 19 *b*–20; in Mark's time fasting had become part of Christian practice. The changed custom could be defended easily enough by taking the little proverb in verse 19 *a* as an allegory (Christ = "The Bridegroom"), even though the added words are harsh between the proverb and the continuation of the theme in verse 21. But a contrast between Pharisaic and Christian fasting was still legitimate, for the latter was less rigorous, being perhaps obligatory only once in the year on the anniversary (however computed) of the Crucifixion. This may well be the meaning of "that day" in verse 20;[2] note moreover the contrast between Christian fasting and the *frequency* of Pharisaic fasting in Luke 5 : 33. In the second century, however — at least in some circles — even this contrast had disappeared; Christians, like Pharisees, fasted twice in the week, although on different days.

Furthermore, Mark's peculiar fondness for pleonastic repetition (1 : 32–34, 3 : 33 f., 5 : 4, etc.) appears in 2 : 16, 18, 12 : 14 *b*–15 *a*, and these verses can be simplified to the distinct improvement of the narrative. The obscure 2 : 15 exhibits similar pleonasm, but in this instance Mark's revision has extended further; he

[1] Albertz, to be sure, treats (page 5) 3 : 6 as the original conclusion of 2 : 1–3 : 6, which he regards as an independent tradition. But he overlooks the relation between 3 : 6 and 12 : 13, as well as the fact that 2 : 1–12 differs from the other controversies both in contents and form.

[2] Yet the phrase may of course be perfectly general, "in that season," without reference to any regular obligation. But, in view of Luke's parallel, "on that day in the week" (= Friday) would be an anachronism.

has united the call of Levi (2 : 14) with the first controversy, so making it appear that Jesus' presence at a banquet given by the new disciple was the occasion of the Pharisees' protest. Similarity in content made the junction natural, but, as a matter of fact, Jesus' association with the ostracized classes was an essential and continuous feature of his ministry and neither began nor culminated with any particular banquet. An original "Jesus was eating and drinking with publicans and sinners" would have the same form as the prefatory words in the other sections of the series. The verse in 2 : 13 is likewise Marcan, establishing a transition between 2 : 1–12 and the controversy series. The unexpected "and he said unto them" in 2 : 27 indicates supplementing a known tradition with a *logion* taken from a different source (cf. 4 : 21, 24); the sayings in 2 : 21 f. have no such preface. In 12 : 17 the last clause is entirely in Mark's style (cf. 1 : 27, 2 : 12, 5 : 20, etc.), and 3 : 5 *a* is a typical instance of a Marcan motive (1 : 44, 8 : 12, 33, 9 : 19).

Something of Mark's spirit may be detected likewise in 12 : 14–15, but Palestinianism appears to be the chief factor in this case; see below. In 12 : 18 the phrase, "who say there is no resurrection," is naturally a note for Gentile readers and must have been added after the tradition left Palestine, even if Mark himself is not responsible for it. The same is true of the words "to make a way" in 2 : 23; either a (mistaken) explanation of the precise breach of the Sabbath law or a Latinism. On the other hand the present position of 2 : 21–22 must go back to Palestine. By the time these verses could be understood as signifying a separation of Judaism and Christianity as distinct

religions,[1] fasting was already established as a Christian custom. The verses consequently are in the wrong place — especially in view of 19 *b*–20 — to express separatist views.

After the recovery of the Palestinian form of the tradition, however, it must be remembered that we do not even yet have an "original" version; we have reached simply the form of the series used in the earliest Christian instruction. For this purpose it is ideal; nothing could be easier to remember than the six little sections, all uniform in style, all of the simplest possible structure, and all connected by a common theme. To collect parallels from Jewish or other religious literature would be easy but would serve no purpose, for this "form" is universal. But, obviously, history does not happen with such regular simplicity. No matter how well evidence may be transmitted, its deliberate arrangement for pedagogic purpose necessitates a certain artificiality.

For instance, our controversy series disregards chronology altogether, unless placing the Jerusalem incidents at the end be counted as evidence of a chronological interest. But this is a minor matter. More important are the revisions that can be detected in the account of the miracle in 3 : 1–5. Here the healing is the climax; Jesus is represented as knowing in advance that he can heal the withered hand and confound his adversaries by so doing, and they are represented as admitting such ability on his part. So Christians of even the earliest apostolic age would have reasoned, but the historic difficulties are evident. Now in Luke 13 : 10–17 we have a similar story taken from

[1] Really a post-Pauline thought.

Luke's special source, in which these features are absent. First stands the healing, prompted only by pity for the sufferer. This leads to the ruler's expostulation, which is couched in declarative — not interrogative — terms, while it may be noted that the man is not called either a Pharisee or a scribe. Jesus' reply begins with a general statement which is then applied strictly to the case in hand. Without saying that in this passage we have a record of an event exactly as it happened, it is evident that at least we have an account much less conventional than the one in Mark.

In Luke 14 : 1–6, which in substance is also from Luke's special source, the *logion* once more follows the healing. But in other regards Luke seems to have retouched this incident with details taken from Mark 3 : 1–5, making the original wording difficult to recover; none the less the passage is even then more primitive than Mark's section. In Mark 2 : 1–12, however, the didactic process has gone furthest of all; not only is the controversy completed before the healing but Jesus is represented as using his power to cure as a proof of his divine commission. From this conception to the theory of the miracles in the Fourth Gospel is only a step.

Less important but very worthy of consideration is another feature in the series, which Bultmann has noted.[1] In Mark 2 : 18 and 2 : 23 the controversy turns about the acts not of Jesus but of the disciples, although Jesus certainly was not thought of as observing the fasts or as unwilling to pluck grain on the Sabbath. And so Bultmann deduces that these "disciples" represent primarily the early Christian community,

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 7, 9.

which was concerned primarily with defending its own practices; just so in 2 : 15 the disciples' share in eating with the publicans is emphasized, even though the wording of the *logion* prevents the narrative from passing over Jesus' participation. Similarly in Mark 7 : 2 it is the disciples, not Jesus, who are held at fault by the Pharisees, although in Luke 11 : 37 ff. Jesus is the one who neglects the ritual ablutions. Bultmann is evidently right; the appearance in these sections of "the disciples" in place of "Jesus" is due to conventionalizing because of later interests.[1] But this occurred in pre-Marcan days, for Mark had no interest in identifying the church of his own time with the questions raised in 2 : 23 ff. or 7 : 2 ff.

Of other details that may be suspected of artificiality, it may be worth mentioning that in 2 : 18 and 12 : 13 two classes of adversaries appear: in the first case Pharisees with disciples of John, in the other Pharisees with Herodians. In 2 : 18, however, this raises no real problem, for the Baptist certainly shared the austere Pharisaic outlook. Perhaps the double divergence was not brought to Jesus' attention on any given occasion,[2] but the problem was certainly one with which he had to deal, all the more because of his own deep respect for John. And it is by no means clear that followers of the Baptist were conspicuous enough in Palestine after A.D. 30 to attract any particular attention from the Christians.

[1] It is interesting to note that Luke's special source again appears to be more primitive than Mark's. Equally interesting is the fact that the removal of obvious Q elements from Luke 11 : 37–41 leaves a controversy of exactly the same form as those in Mark's series; a situation leads to a hostile question which Jesus answers with a *logion*.

[2] And yet, why should it not have been?

In 12 : 13, however, the difficulty is greater, for here two parties are associated which were in neither agreement nor opposition about the point at issue. As has already been said, the Herodians were really anxious to uphold the legality of tribute, but to the Pharisees the matter was relatively unimportant; so long as their religious practices were undisturbed they were not too seriously troubled by the Roman exactions, and most of them must have agreed entirely with Jesus' opinion. Individual Pharisees might, of course, think differently; Josephus (*Antt.*, XVIII, 1) says that a Pharisee joined Judas the Gaulonite in leading the revolt against the tax. But the Pharisees as a class considered such matters as out of their domain [1] — and they were not in the least concerned about what non-Pharisees might think of them.

We are consequently obliged to ask if "Pharisees" is not an addition to an original version which mentioned only "Herodians." And this is probably the case. The earliest church disliked the Pharisees, no doubt, but this dislike was tempered with a certain respect,[2] for they were at least frank and outspoken enemies; whatever the nature of their "hypocrisy," every one knew exactly where they stood. But in Mark 12 : 13–17 the speakers are tricky liars, who hide their guile most sedulously under words of honeyed praise. Pharisees are never so characterized in the Synoptic tradition,[3] but it would be in precisely such

[1] An exegetical tradition has grown up which represents the Pharisees as present on this occasion in order to denounce Jesus if he should approve tribute. This, of course, ignores the facts.

[2] As is familiar, a source largely used in Acts treats the Pharisees rather tenderly.

[3] Matthew 12 : 38, the nearest parallel, is quite different.

terms that Jerusalem Christians would think of the Herodians; sycophants and informers to the Romans when out of power and cruel persecutors when in power; making a show of righteousness but infidels at heart.[1] And the interest in this party shows the extremely early date of the tradition, for the Herodians never recovered their influence in Jerusalem and Galilee after A.D. 44.[2] When and where "Pharisees" was added cannot now be determined; it certainly took place before Mark wrote, as he anticipates this name as well as "Herodians" in 3 : 6.

The sole remaining departure from strict simplicity is the presence in the fourth and sixth sections of more than one element in Jesus' reply. In 12 : 24–27 this causes no difficulty, for the sayings are scarcely separable, accenting simply different aspects of the same truth. And, since the two *logia* in 2 : 22 f. palpably belong together, all that can be asked in their case is if Jesus would have so condemned the Baptist's practice — the result of the connection of these verses with 2 : 18–19 *a*. But the condemnation is not harsh and does neither beyond the Q saying in Luke 7 : 28 = Matthew 11 : 11 nor beyond what Jesus necessarily must have taught.

As to the relation of the series to other Synoptic sources, Dr. Bacon has observed with entire justice the similarity between Mark 2 : 15–22 and the Q sayings in Luke 7 : 18 ff. = Matthew 11 : 2 ff.[3] So we have corresponding to Mark 2 : 13–17 the statement that "the poor have good tidings preached to them" and

[1] Acts, Chap. 12, and Josephus' description of Agrippa's assumption of religious zeal when in Jerusalem; cf. especially *Antt.*, XIX, 7.

[2] Agrippa II's rule was practically confined to Gaulonitis.

[3] *The Beginnings*, pp. 22 f.

that the Son of man is "a friend of publicans and sinners," while corresponding to Mark 2 : 18–22 is the declaration that "the Son of man came eating and drinking." But this correspondence extends no further, for Mark 2 : 23–3 : 5 and 12 : 13–27 have no analogues in Q,[1] a fact that, taken in conjunction with the very early date of the tradition, seems to put borrowing from Q out of the question.[2] It is enough to say that Jesus' willingness to pass over class distinctions and his readiness to disregard fasts was associated naturally in more than one strand of tradition.

Finally. Do these controversy sections depict actual concrete occurrences in the life of Jesus or are they "ideal" scenes, constructed to give vividness to the "kernel" *logia?*[3]

Taking them in order, 2 : 15–17 hardly purports to be anything but a most general picture; the event in verses 15–16 was certainly thought to have happened many times and there is no attempt to establish temporal connections between the act, the objection, and Jesus' reply; 2 : 18–22 is similarly vague and the questioners are not even named. In 2 : 23–26, however, Jesus' counter question could not have been transmitted without a setting provided by a concrete

[1] Although of course the "absence" of a section from Q may mean merely that all three Synoptists copied it, so that it cannot be identified as Q material.

[2] Dr. Bacon, to be sure, points out that Mark 1 : 40–2 : 12 has a striking parallel in the Q words, "The lepers are cleansed . . . and the poor have good tidings preached to them." But this fact bears rather on Mark's reasons for the structure of his Gospel, a different matter from the question discussed above. And the agreement of the beginning of the controversy series with a section in Q may well have led Mark to prefix sections to enlarge the correspondence.

[3] Compare the "paradigms" of Dibelius and the "apothegms" of Bultmann.

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situation, so that the section must always have been transmitted practically as a unit.[1] The conventionalizing elements in 3 : 1–5 have been discussed, but, once more, the *logion* is a counter-question that can hardly stand alone, even though the nature of the sufferer's ailment and other details might vary in transmission.[2] In 12 : 13–17 the concluding saying might conceivably have been transmitted independently, but the presence of the coin and the concrete request as to the legality of the tribute are needed for the full force; it is hardly possible to think of tradition as having done more than elaborate on the hypocrisy of the Herodians. And 12 : 25 is incomprehensible without the context.

Consequently it appears that our controversy series, although meant and formed for Christian instruction, contains none the less a true recollection not only of the general teaching but of certain definite events in the life of Jesus.

[1] It is interesting to observe that this is the only instance of a Sabbath controversy that does not turn about the legality of a healing.

[2] This need not imply that Mark 3 : 1–5, Luke 13 : 10–17 and 14 : 1–6 all go back to a single common "original."

THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK

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THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK[1]

From the standpoint of literary structure the dominating idea of the Gospel of Mark can be regarded as history, biography, or tragedy. If the word "gospel" (1 : 1) is from the hand of the author, and carries the Pauline connotation of salvation through the death and resurrection of Jesus, it is not improbable that Mark shaped his material with a view to exhibiting its tragic rather than its historical or biographical significance. At any rate, a literary analysis of his work discloses the interplay of two opposing forces as being the directive influences in determining the course of events from the auspicious beginning of the hero's career to its tragic end. These two forces are the popularity of Jesus with the common people and the opposition which this popularity together with Jesus' teaching and manner of life aroused in the privileged and ruling classes.

The Gospel divides itself into five parts:

1. A brief introduction (1 : 1–20).
2. A group of five incidents, which exhibit the popularity of Jesus and his efforts to avoid it (1 : 21–45).

[1] The purpose of this paper being to determine the general literary character of this Gospel, no attempt will be made to identify the author of the Gospel, or to distinguish between the author, whether the historic Mark, or some unknown person, on the one hand, and the editor, or redactor, granted that there was such, on the other. Hence, the terms Mark, author, evangelist, are used interchangeably.

3. A group of five incidents which portray the opposition to Jesus (2 : 1–3 : 6).
4. A group of thirteen incidents which show Jesus engaged in a series of vain endeavors to avoid the consequences of the two forces which he had set going (3 : 7–8 : 26).
5. A lengthy concluding section, in which Jesus is pictured as withdrawing from the territory where his popularity and the opposition to him had gone beyond control, and in which he is represented as abandoning his public ministry and as devoting his teaching to his twelve chosen Disciples. In this teaching the coming tragedy of the cross stands out prominently. This section may well be designated: "The Ministry to the Twelve in Preparation for the End and the Culminating Tragedy of the Cross" (8 : 27–16 : 8).

In his introduction the author presents his hero, and indicates the nature of his equipment for the task which is before him. He was no ordinary person, but one whose coming was announced by a divinely sent herald, a preacher of righteousness, whose mission was itself foretold in the nation's holy writings (1 : 2–3). Uniting with the movement of this sensational herald of good news by submitting to its initiatory rite, Jesus, who had gone down to Judea from Nazareth, received the enduement of superhuman power through the descent from heaven of the Spirit of God, and the assurance, through the testimony of the heavenly voice, of his divine Sonship and of the Father's complete satisfaction with him.

His equipment for the task was immediately put to the test through his exposure for forty days to the

attacks of the prince of the kingdom of evil. This was not a conflict of flesh and blood, but an engagement between the two opposite forces of the universe — God and Satan.[1] Hence, the Spirit of God drove the hero, God's representative, to the wilderness, apart from the haunts of men, where the issue was decided between the two champions of the opposing kingdoms, the only ministrants of Jesus being the heavenly messengers (1 : 12–13). Who the victor in this contest was Mark does not indicate explicitly, as do Matthew and Luke, both of whom report the retirement of Satan from the contest, with Jesus in possession of the field (Matthew 4 : 11, Luke 4 : 13). Mark, on the contrary, lets the reader infer the result, but he leaves no doubt in the reader's mind as to what that result was. Jesus was the victor and was in consequence of his victory fully competent to proceed with his God-appointed task of destroying completely the power of Satan over men. This destruction of the kingdom of Satan was a necessary preliminary to the coming of the Kingdom of God, which constituted the chief object of the national hopes and aspirations. It was the imminence of this Kingdom of God and the reformation in thought and life on the part of the individual as a prerequisite to sharing in its blessings which formed the substance of Jesus' heralding (1 : 14–15). However, if any doubt as to who the victor was and what his victory signified lingers in the mind of the reader, the author removes it in the first scene of the story proper, when the demon, speaking for the denizens of the entire demonic world, acknowl-

[1] Mark uses Σατανᾶς (1 : 13); Matthew uses Σατανᾶς (4 : 10) and διάβολος (4 : 1, 5, 8, 11); Luke uses διάβολος alone (4 : 2, 3, 6, 13).

edged the coming of Jesus to be the signal for their destruction (1 : 24).

Having shown his hero as being fully equipped for his task and his equipment as having been thoroughly tested, Mark represents him as leaving the territory where these preliminary events occurred, and as going to Galilee, which was to be the theater of his activities. The calling of the Four Disciples (1 : 16–20) is treated as though nothing had intervened between it and Jesus' arrival in Galilee, thus giving to this act the appearance of being the final step in preparation for the tragedy.

Popularity

The story opens with an account of a busy day in Capernaum, from whose many events three are selected for notice — the casting out of a demon, the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, and the scene at the close of the Sabbath (1: 21–34).

These events are so reported as to show their dramatic effect on the populace. That Jesus was superior in power to the demons, the source of men's misfortunes generally and of their diseases in particular, is taken for granted by the author, because, as already indicated, this superiority was manifested by Jesus in his victory over Satan, the prince of the demons, before he began his God-given mission. Mark therefore is not at pains to prove that Jesus could perform miracles, but rather to exhibit the means by which and the manner in which he showed his power over the demonic world, and to indicate the effect which these manifestations of his power had upon those who witnessed them. The motif of these three stories is to be found in the popular-

ity to which Jesus attained immediately because of the astonishment of the people at the authoritative way in which he spoke to the demons and at the instant and complete obedience which the demons gave to him.

This motif is most prominent in the first of these narratives, in which the author announces in advance, the astonishment and admiration of the multitudes at the authoritative manner of Jesus' teaching as though this announcement constituted a thesis to be proved. He says: "And they go into Capernaum, and straightway on the Sabbath day he entered into the synagogue and taught. And they were astonished at his teaching, for he taught them as having authority and not as the scribes" (1 : 21–22). This statement may possibly be a gloss, in view of its repetition in verse 27, wherein the "teaching" is defined as the casting out of demons rather than as the imparting of information.

In any event, the miracle is recorded in such a way as to prove its effect on the people, for, without the use of physical means, and without physical contact with the subject, Jesus simply commanded the demon to be quiet and to come out, which he did forthwith, tearing the possessed one, and crying with a loud voice (1 : 26).

The astonishment of the witnesses at Jesus' authority over the demons was complete, and immediately (εὐθύς) Jesus became famous — the report of him went throughout all the surrounding territory of Galilee (1 : 28). So important from the author's point of view is this immediate spread of Jesus' fame that he records it at once, not waiting till he has reported the other scenes of the busy day in Capernaum. Although he states that Jesus went immediately from the synagogue to the house of Peter and Andrew

(1 : 29–31), he makes his story read as though Jesus' fame spread throughout the territory of Galilee in the region of Capernaum before he reached the house immediately following the synagogue scene.

The story of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law is important from the author's point of view for two reasons: first, its connection with Peter, the most prominent of the Apostolic group; and second, its connection with the two stories which follow it. It prepares the way for the healing of the many at the close of the day, and this situation in turn forms a setting for the retirement on the following morning (1 : 35–38).

Whether or not the four events which make up the record of the busy day in Capernaum, and of the morning after, happened on two successive days, as Mark indicates, may not be determinable. The author, however, so connects them as to produce that impression on the reader. Furthermore, his arrangement is climatic, not in the intensity of the miracle-working power of Jesus, but in the growing enthusiasm of the multitudes over the exhibition of this power, and in the necessity which it imposed upon Jesus of retiring before the demonstrations of their admiration for him.

The climax is reached in the retirement scene in the early hours of the morning following the busy day in Capernaum (1 : 35–38). Jesus withdrew to a quiet place (not a desert), presumably a short distance from Capernaum, for prayer. When his absence was discovered, Peter and others started out in search of him. On finding him, they told him that everybody was looking for him, to which announcement he replied that his purpose in leaving the city (πόλις), the place of crowds, was that he might go to the smaller places,

village-cities (κωμοπόλεις, hapaxlegomenon) and preach to them. It is customary to interpret the reply of Jesus to mean that he declined to remain in one locality, despite the opportunity which it offered for performing miracles, since he was primarily not a miracle worker, but a teacher and preacher, with a mission which required that he cover as much territory as possible in order that as many as possible might hear his preaching of the gospel.

This interpretation reflects the Lucan rather than the Marcan narrative. Because of a few verbal differences the reply of Jesus, as reported by Luke, means the opposite of what it does according to Mark. For Mark's "Simon and they that were with him" Luke has "the multitudes" (4:42). "All are seeking thee," in Mark, is paralleled in Luke by "and they would have stayed him that he should not go from them" (4:42). Mark's "let us go elsewhere to the surrounding village-cities" becomes in Luke "it is necessary for me to go to the *other* cities" (ταῖς ἑτέραις πόλεσιν) (4:43), *i.e.*, cities of the type of Capernaum. Mark's "that I may there herald" appears in Luke as "It is necessary for me to announce the good news of the Kingdom of God" (4:43).[1] Instead of Mark's "for this purpose I came out" (*i.e.*, from the city), Luke has "for this purpose was I sent" (4:43).

Comparing Mark and Luke in the light of these differences, we find that, according to Mark, the purpose of Jesus in retiring to the desert place was to escape the multitudes of a city in order that he might carry on his ministry in territories in which there were relatively

[1] εὐαγγελίζομαι is a favorite word with Luke, occurring in no other Gospel except Matthew and there only once (11:5).

few people. According to Luke, Jesus was preparing to leave one city for the purpose of going to other cities, not that he might avoid the multitudes, as in Mark, but that he might herald his good news in the principal places of the country in fulfilment of his divine mission. In other words, Mark represents Jesus as retreating from the multitudes; Luke represents him as going where the multitudes were.

The report of Jesus' tour in Galilee (Mark 1: 39–45) forms a fitting conclusion to a series of scenes in which Jesus' popularity and the embarrassment arising therefrom are depicted. In accordance with his announced purpose to leave Capernaum in order to go to village-cities (1 : 38), Jesus went throughout all Galilee, heralding and casting out demons. The territory more immediately in the vicinity of Capernaum is probably in the mind of the author a territory, which, apart from Gennesaret, the narrow strip along the lake, is mountainous, and contained probably few large cities, but doubtless numerous villages of the type referred to by Jesus.

Only one incident in this journey is recorded, namely, the healing of the leper. Again, Mark's chief aim is not to narrate a miracle, since the point of the narrative is neither in the fact of the miracle nor in the details which characterize it, although interpreters credit Mark with a fondness for such details.[1] The author's main purpose was to exhibit the conduct of the leper after he was healed, to show the effect of this conduct on the multitudes, and to indicate how the enthusiasm aroused in them by the leper's report of his healing

[1] See Swete, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (1909), pp. lxxiii–lxxv, and J. Weiss, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (1907), *in loc.*

forced Jesus to circumscribe his movements further. This purpose is effectively accomplished by the statement that, as soon as the leper was healed, Jesus "strictly charged him and straightway sent him out," with the command to say nothing to any man, but to show himself to the priest. This purpose is further shown by the subsequent statement that the healed leper did precisely what Jesus had ordered him not to do. "He went out and began to publish it much and to spread abroad the matter." The climax of the story is not the healing of the leper, but the result which followed his disobedience of Jesus' command; Jesus was no longer able "*openly*" to enter "any city" (not "the city," Authorized Version and margin of Revised Version), but was compelled to confine his *public* appearances to unfrequented ("desert") places (1:45), more isolated than the village-cities, previously referred to (1:38).

Opposition

There is no support in Mark for the popular view that the opposition to Jesus arose only after he had been preaching and working approximately a year. According to Mark, this opposition arose early, namely, on the return of Jesus to Capernaum, some days after the completion of the first preaching tour (1:35–2:1). The opposition section (2:1–3:6), like the popularity section (1:21–45), consists of five scenes, which by their climactic arrangement show how the opposition grew in intensity until it reached the point where the Pharisees and Herodians laid aside their traditional antipathy for each other, and united in a plot to put Jesus to death. Thus early in his narrative the

author depicts for his readers the rise and growth of Jesus' popularity and of the opposition to him, the two mutually opposing forces which were to culminate in the tragic death of the hero of his story.

In making the transition from the group of popularity narratives to that of the opposition narratives Mark holds consistently to his previous observation that Jesus was forced by the popular demonstrations of appreciation to confine his ministry to unfrequented places, being unable *openly* to enter any city (1:45). When, at the close of his first preaching tour, he did enter a city, in this case Capernaum, he did so incognito. It was only "after some days" (2:1) that the news began to spread that he was in the house. Thereupon follows the story of the palsied man let down from the roof into the house where Jesus was, because the crowd was so great that there was no room about the door.

Whether purposely or not, the author has portrayed in the five incidents which make up this opposition section (2:1–3:6) a climactic growth in the intensity with which the opposition to Jesus showed itself. In the first incident the scribes were scandalized because Jesus claimed to be able to forgive sins. Yet they made no demonstration, only "reasoning in their hearts" (2:6), and adjudging him to be a blasphemer (2:1–12). In the second scene the scribes found fault with Jesus for consorting with publicans and sinners. This time they went beyond the point of "reasoning in their hearts" and *voiced* their complaint, not, however, to Jesus, but to his Disciples (2:16). In the third scene the scribes (understood), or the disciples of John and of the Pharisees, went for the first time directly to Jesus with their complaint, although it was directed,

not against him, but against his disciples, for their failure to fast (2 : 18–22). The fourth incident, like the third, shows the enemies of Jesus as going directly to him with a complaint against his disciples, the cause of the complaint being their violation of the Sabbath (2 : 23–28). In the fifth scene the Pharisees are depicted as watching Jesus to see whether or not he would himself break the Sabbath. While his enemies had previously charged his disciples with breaking the Sabbath (2 : 23–28), they had not yet charged him personally with doing it, notwithstanding the fact that this was not the first time Jesus performed cures on the Sabbath (1 : 21–31). Although the Pharisees made no demonstration against Jesus, their violent antagonism to him is presupposed by the author in the dramatic situation which developed when Jesus caused the man with the withered hand to stand up before the crowd, and put to his adversaries the question, whether on the Sabbath it was lawful to do good or to do evil, to save a life or to kill. The dramatic situation is heightened by the refusal of the Pharisees to make reply to his question; the climax is reached in the death plot which they made with the Herodians, immediately on leaving the synagogue (3 : 6).

Interplay of Popularity and Opposition

Having thus vividly set forth the enthusiastic reception of Jesus at the hands of the common people (1 : 21–45) and the antagonism which he aroused in the ecclesiastical and political leaders (2 : 1–3 : 6), the author passes to the next division of his story, wherein he portrays Jesus as being engaged in a vain endeavor to avert the consequences involved in the demonstra-

tions which were being made by the common people and in the opposition of his enemies.

In the first scene of this section (3 : 7–12) Mark carries his portrayal of the popularity of Jesus to a high point. Up to this time the fame of Jesus had extended "throughout all Galilee." Now there gathered by the lake a great multitude, which came not only from Galilee, but from Judea, Jerusalem, from Idumea, to the far south, from beyond Jordan on the east, and from Tyre and Sidon, on the far northwest. Only the Decapolis country is omitted from the territory within the natural confines of Palestine.[1]

The withdrawal to the sea (3 : 7) seems to have been a precautionary measure, a move in the interest of safety, following the plot to put Jesus to death (3 : 6).[2]

The scene following the preaching by the sea is likewise a retirement incident.[3] Jesus left the crowds by the sea and went into a mountainous region, accompanied by only a few of his followers. Upon arriving at his destination, he summoned the particular ones whom he desired to be with him. These "went away" to him, and from their number he appointed the Twelve, first that they might constitute for him an inner circle of trusted companions, and second, that he might send them forth to herald and to cast out demons.[4]

[1] Matthew has Decapolis, but omits Idumea (4 : 25).

[2] On the use of ἀναχωρέω, signifying to withdraw from danger, see Matt. 2 : 12–14, 12 : 15, 14 : 13, 15 : 21, John 6 : 15. Matthew has, "And Jesus when he knew it [the plot] withdrew thence" (12 : 15); cf. Bacon, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1909), pp. 38, 40. Holtzmann: *Hand-Kommentar zum N. T: Die Synoptiker* (1891), p. 69. On the use of the boat (3 : 9) as a safety measure, see on Mark, chapter 4 *infra*.

[3] J. Weiss, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (1907), *in loc.*

[4] On this retirement to a mountainous region, and its probable connection with Matthew 5 : 1 see Carré: "Matthew 5 : 1 and Related Passages," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLII (1923), 39–48.

The story of the visit of Jesus' relatives and the criticism of the scribes (3 : 19 *b*–35), taken just as it is, depicts the interplay of the two social forces which were determining the course of Jesus' ministry, namely, the enthusiasm of the populace and the opposition of the privileged classes. However, if the criticism of the scribes (3 : 22–30) be an interpolation,[1] the story of the visit of the relatives runs uninterruptedly, and vividly portrays the popularity of Jesus. He was in a house, so pressed by the popular demands for his ministry that he had not time to eat.

The story of Jesus teaching by the sea (chap. 4) is strongly marked by the popularity motif. Four precautionary and repressive measures are indicated — the use of the boat to prevent thronging, as in 3 : 9–10, teaching in parables to prevent the multitudes from understanding him (4 : 10–12, 33–34), the escape from the crowd by leaving it, "just as he was in the boat" (4 : 35–36), the resort to the non-Jewish, or eastern side of the lake. In this territory he would encounter neither the Messianic aspirations and demonstrations of the common people nor the opposition of his enemies. However, his escape was of short duration. In striking contrast with the people of the west side, those of the east side besought him to leave their country, after they had learned of the healing of the man among the tombs and of the destruction of the herd of swine. This contrast in attitude on the part of the people was paralleled by a change of procedure on Jesus' part. When he was on the west side of the lake, Jesus' rule was

[1] On the critical questions pertaining to the section 3 : 7–35 see Bacon, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1909); Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci* (1903), p. 27. Wendling, *Die Entstehung des Marcus-Evangeliums* (1908), pp. 21–27.

to enjoin silence regarding his miracles, but in this instance he directed the cured man to return home and tell what the Lord had done for him (5 : 19).

The popularity motif is resumed with the return of Jesus to the west side of the lake, where the enthusiasm of the multitude became at once an embarrassment to him. Mark reports the gathering of a great multitude on the lake shore as Jesus was landing, or shortly thereafter (5 : 21). Then follows a graphic description of how the crowd thronged Jesus on his way to the house of Jairus (5 : 24), so much so that a woman desiring to be healed could only touch the garment of Jesus (5 : 27). The picture of Jesus turning about in the crowd to inquire who had touched him (5 : 30) and the reply of the disciples: "Thou seest the crowd thronging thee, and sayest thou 'Who touched me?' " (5 : 31) is one of the most vivid in the entire Gospel.

Mark continues in the next scene his representation of Jesus' efforts to get away from the multitude. He shows Jesus as excluding from the room where the daughter of Jairus lay all except Peter, James, and John and the parents of the girl, and as commanding that no one should hear of the miracle. How the news of the restoration of the child to life was to be kept secret the reader is left to conjecture. Perhaps Mark's meaning is that the command to be silent regarding the miracle should not be taken absolutely, and that the result of the visit of Jesus to the house was to be kept quiet only long enough to enable him to get away, for Mark adds that Jesus "departed thence" to his native country, or city. On the basis of 1 : 9, the reference is probably to Nazareth, located in the quiet hill-country, away from the turbulent crowds whose Messianic

hopes were being fanned into flame by Jesus' preaching and miracles. The visit to Nazareth must be looked on as a retirement move, since there was no enthusiasm over him in his home town, as is evident from his rejection at the hands of its citizens (6 : 1–6 *a*), and since Mark notes that after his rejection Jesus made a circuit of the villages teaching (*περιῆγεν τὰς κώμας κύκλῳ διδάσκων*) (6 : 6 *b*).

Paradoxical as it may seem, the sending out of the Twelve (6 : 7–13) was probably a part of the retirement program of Jesus. It was possible for him through their aid to herald to his countrymen the nearness of the Kingdom of God and the consequent necessity for repentance, and also actually to bring near that Kingdom through the casting out of demons (Matt. 12 : 28 = Luke 11 : 20), while, at the same time, he himself kept away from the populous centers, confining his personal ministry to villages (6 : 7). In this way he avoided the embarrassment and danger which arose from the practice on the part of the common people of connecting the coming of the Kingdom of God with him personally.

Treating the story of John's death (6 : 14–29) as an unhistorical parenthesis,[1] we bring together the notice of the sending out of the Twelve (6 : 6–13) and the reference to their return (6 : 30–44). Of their ministry nothing is recorded. Mark simply states that when they met Jesus on their return, they reported what they had done and what they had taught. He does not state where they met Jesus, but the meeting place was probably not far from Capernaum, for they

[1] Bacon, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1909), *in loc.*; Holtzmann, *Hand-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament: Die Synoptiker* (1891), *in loc.*; J. Weiss, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (1907), *in loc.*

were once more in populous territory near the lake, and retired by boat to a quiet place (6 : 31–32). This place of retreat was probably on the Jewish or western side of the lake, not far away, for thither the people from all the cities flocked, going afoot and arriving in advance of the boat which carried Jesus and his disciples (6 : 33).

In this "desert place" (6 : 32, 35) occurred the feeding of the Five Thousand, after which Jesus continued his retirement program in two ways: first, by directing his disciples to proceed by boat to Bethsaida; and secondly, by sending the multitude away.

It is uncertain whether *αὐτοῖς* (Mark 6 : 46) refers to the disciples or to the multitude, and it is not clear whether the departure of the disciples took place before or after the sending away of the multitude. In Matthew the first uncertainty is entirely removed, and the second is almost but not absolutely eliminated by the repetition of *ὄχλους* and by the substitution of *ἀπολύω* = to send away, for *ἀποτάσσω* = to say farewell (Mark 6 : 46). To reproduce the scene with exactness is impossible,[1] but one can determine with considerable probability what the situation was if one will review the history leading up to and following the feeding of the Five Thousand.[2]

Unfortunately, the portion of Mark which follows the story of this event presents a series of difficult problems:[3]

[1] J. Weiss, in accordance with his theory of the Petrine origin of Mark, attributes the fragmentary character of the narrative to the fact that Peter confined his report to what occurred before his departure in the boat with the rest of the Twelve (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* [1907], *in loc.*).

[2] A review of this history is given below, in the section entitled, "Outline of the Galilean Ministry."

[3] Wendling designates 6 : 45–8 : 26, "The Great Interpolation" (*Die Entstehung des Marcus-Evangeliums* [1908], pp. 68–97.)

1. The feeding of the Five Thousand (6 : 35–44) is paralleled by the feeding of the Four Thousand (8 : 1–9).
2. The crossing of the lake (6 : 47–56) is paralleled by the crossing reported in 8 : 10.
3. The controversy with the Pharisees (7 : 1–23) is paralleled by the controversy with them referred to in 8 : 11–13.
4. The reference to the bread of the children (7 : 24–30) is paralleled by the discussion over the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod (8 : 14–21).
5. The use of spittle in the healing of a man deaf and defective in speech (7 : 31–37) is paralleled by the use of spittle in the healing of a blind man (8 : 22–26).

To the difficulties growing out of duplication there are added those attaching to the geographical setting of these incidents. After the feeding of the Five Thousand, Jesus directed the disciples to go before him to Bethsaida, which was located on the east of the Jordan and north of the lake of Galilee, *i.e.*, in Gentile territory (6 : 47–52). Did they land at Bethsaida? It would appear from 6 : 53–56 that they did not, yet the general and stereotyped character of this notice casts doubt on its genuineness. Doubt attaches also to the trustworthiness of the next section (7 : 1–23). The dispute with the Pharisees has no setting, either of time or of place, no connection with what goes before, and no necessary connection with what follows. The statement that Jesus called the multitude to him (7 : 14) is at variance with Mark's custom of representing Jesus as retreating from the multitude.

If these two accounts (6 : 53–56; 7 : 1–23) are stricken out on critical grounds, the story of Jesus' retreat to the Gentile territory of Phenicia (7 : 24–30) and of Decapolis (7 : 31–37) follows immediately upon that of the crossing of the lake on the way to Bethsaida, indicating that Jesus and his disciples reached their destination at Bethsaida and did not return to the west side of the lake. If now the section, 8 : 1–26, be eliminated on the ground of the duplication referred to above,[1] we are brought to the concluding section of Mark's Gospel, according to our analysis (8 : 27–16 : 8), which reports the preparation of the Twelve for the final catastrophe (8 : 27–9 : 50), the journey to Jerusalem (10 : 1–52), and the tragic death (11 : 1–16 : 8).

Outline of the Galilean Ministry

We shall now sketch hastily Mark's story of the Galilean ministry as it appears in the light of the preceding discussion. The story of Jesus' public activity begins with the synagogue scene in Capernaum (1 : 21–28), which is the first in a series of five, wherein it appears that the popular enthusiasm aroused by Jesus' heralding and healings made it necessary for him to withdraw from the populous centers to village-cities (1 : 21–45). This section is followed by another containing five incidents, in which the opposition stirred up by Jesus among the ruling classes, both ecclesiastical and political, reached the point where these enemies plotted his death (2 : 1–3 : 6).

[1] The feeding of the Four Thousand (8 : 1–9); the crossing of the lake (8 : 10); the controversy with the Pharisees and the warning touching the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod, attached thereto (8 : 11–21); and the healing of the blind man (8 : 22–26).

The next section (3 : 7–8 : 26) shows Jesus engaged in a series of retreats before the enthusiastic demonstrations of his admirers, he taking the precaution all the time not to commit himself to their program nor to expose himself to the machinations of his enemies. In view of the plot to put him to death (3 : 6), he withdrew to the lake and taught from a boat (3 : 7–12). Thence he retired to the quiet of a mountainous region, where he selected twelve men to be his companions and helpers, his personal protection perhaps figuring in this move (3 : 13–19 *a*). These events are followed by the scene in which Jesus was so engrossed in his work and so sought after by the people that he had not time to eat, and was adjudged by his relatives to be mentally unbalanced (3 : 19 *b*–35). In the next scene Jesus is shown again to be taking precautionary measures by teaching from a boat, and by leaving the multitude standing on the shore while he departed in the boat, going to the eastern, or Gentile, side of the lake (4 : 35–41). Driven from the eastern side shortly after his arrival there by the insistence of a people who had no interest in his Messianic good news (5 : 1–20), he returned to the western side of the lake, only to encounter again the enthusiastic and uncontrollable common people whom he had sought to escape but a little while before (5 : 21). Extricating himself from this crowd, he sought retirement in the hill-country around Nazareth, where he remained till he met his disciples on their return from their preaching tour, at some populous center, probably in, or near, Capernaum, whence he went by boat to a desert place in a vain endeavor to escape the multitude.

Here the popular Messianic demonstrations in his

behalf reached their climax. In the crowd that followed him "from all the cities" there were five thousand men capable of bearing arms.[1] The Fourth Gospel states that they were about to take him by force and make him king (6 : 15). These notices suggest that the Messianic demonstrations which Jesus was endeavoring to avoid by keeping away from the populous centers around Capernaum were of the Canaanæan, or Zealot, type, and, inasmuch as a number, if not the majority, of his chosen Twelve came from this section of Galilee, they were probably more or less imbued with this form of nationalism. One of them, Simon, is designated a Zealot (Luke 6 : 15, Acts 1 : 13), and a Canaanæan (Matthew 10 : 4, Mark 3 : 18).

These circumstances furnish a natural explanation of the seemingly strange procedure of Jesus following the feeding of the Five Thousand. The time had now come when it was necessary that he sever once and for all his connection with what had become a Messianic, or nationalistic, movement of a militaristic type. He determined to "send away" [2] the multitude, but, before doing so, if we may take the probable meaning of Mark, he compelled the disciples to go before him to Bethsaida. Why did Jesus prefer that the disciples be absent when he formally severed his relations with those whose hopes for their nation's deliverance were centered in him? We can only conjecture that, if, as suggested above, the disciples entertained views of the

[1] All four Gospels have ἄνδρες, not ἄνθρωποι, while Matthew adds "besides women and children."

[2] The word for "send away," ἀπολύω (6 : 45), is a strong one, meaning to dismiss in the sense of ordering, or compelling one to go, rather than simply to bid one farewell. Cf. Matthew 14 : 15, 15 : 32, 39, Mark 6 : 36, 8 : 3, 9, Luke 8 : 38, 9 : 12, 14 : 4, Acts 13 : 3, 19 : 41.

Kingdom of God closely resembling those of their fellow-countrymen and fellow-townsmen, who made up the multitude, Jesus feared that his ultimatum to the multitude would result in a defection of the Twelve also, had they been present. This conjecture finds support in the Fourth Gospel, which, while perhaps not free from geographical and historical inaccuracies in this connection, seems to contain certain trustworthy representations. It reports that, as a result of Jesus' address to the multitude following the feeding of the Five Thousand, many of his followers went from him, and walked no more with him, and that thereupon Jesus turned to the Twelve, and said, "Will ye also go away?" (John 6 : 60–69).

This severance of relations with the Galilean multitudes brought the public ministry of Jesus to an end. Having sent the Twelve into Gentile territory, he followed them thither (6 : 47–52), probably never to return to that Jewish portion of Galilee, on the western side of the lake, where his announcement of the imminence of a new religious, social, and political régime had aroused the multitudes to the point of urging him to accept their proffered leadership in their efforts to realize their national hopes, and where also he had stirred up an opposition to himself which was destined to break upon him later in deadly fury.[1]

[1] The statements that Jesus was in Galilee (9 : 30–32) and in Capernaum (9 : 33–37) would prove that Jesus did return to the western side of the lake before starting on his journey to Jerusalem, if they were free from suspicion, but their trustworthiness may be questioned in view of the fact that their geographical references throw no light on the incidents with which they are associated and their subject-matter has to do with the training of the Twelve, which, apart from these references, is represented as having been carried on in Gentile territory (8 : 27–10 : 45).

Conclusion

If we have correctly analyzed the literary structure of Mark, we have neither a biography, nor a history, but a brief sketch of a career whose external features were determined by the interplay of two conflicting politico-religious forces which were set in motion by the words, the deeds, and the personality of the hero of the story. The narrative shows in a dramatic way how the enthusiasm of the Galilean Jews was stirred by Jesus, and how with the greatest difficulty he avoided for a time the danger that lay in permitting himself to be used by them for their nationalistic purposes. It shows also how the ministry of Jesus aroused the animosity of the politico-religious leaders, and how Jesus avoided their efforts to destroy him. In time, it became necessary for Jesus to withdraw entirely from the territory in which these forces were at work, and to find safety in foreign territory. During this period of retirement he seems not to have carried on a public ministry, but to have confined himself to the task of instructing his chosen Twelve in the deeper significance of his teaching, and of preparing them for the tragic end that awaited him.[1]

For some unassigned reason Jesus determined to leave his retreat in Gentile territory, and to go to the capital of the nation. Within the short space of a week after his arrival in Jerusalem, he fell the victim of the two forces which he had thus far prevented from overwhelming him, and he was executed without the walls of the city, after being tried on the charge of being the King of the Jews, the very office which his enthusiastic followers had sought in vain to induce him to accept.

[1] One cannot be certain that the references of Jesus to his death were as explicit and detailed as reported by Mark (8 : 31, 9 : 9, 10, 31, 32, 10 : 32–34).

PROLEGOMENA TO A NEW STUDY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

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That there is need of a new study of John the Baptist and his work, no New Testament student would deny. Very few first-class monographs have been devoted to him; most Christian writers, from the evangelists to the latest commentators, seem to find John as a subject somewhat awkward and difficult. The present paper would only collect a few preliminary observations, most of them familiar, none of them wholly new, which may serve to clear the ground for an examination of the surviving data for a reconstruction of John's story. These observations, remade with each rereading of the Gospels, made surely by many other readers, it may be of service to have in collected form, so that their combined bearing may be apparent. If they suggest to any reader that John has more independent significance than the position assigned to him by Christian dogmatic would indicate, they will not be wholly unworthy to be honored with a place in this commemorative volume.

Any one who occupies himself with the narrative portions of the New Testament must be struck by the curiously self-contradictory attitude of the canonical writers toward the Baptist. On the one hand, he is obviously something of an embarrassment to them; they are moved to minimize him and largely to suppress the significance of his work. On the other hand, they place him in the forefront of their narratives and,

almost in spite of themselves, bear eloquent testimony to his crucial importance. The Prologue of the Fourth Gospel is an admirable illustration of the point. Despite the evangelist's strenuous efforts to keep him in his place, the Baptist breaks in ahead of time, out of order, more than once (verses 6–8, 15) and insists on being heard. He makes havoc of the carefully constructed literary Prologue, especially at the point where he intrudes into the super-historical realm, when as yet he has not appeared in time (verse 6). As Wellhausen remarks, he "carelessly drops into eternity" (*unversehens in die Ewigkeit hineinschneit*). Modern students note how enormously simplified the Prologue would be if the Baptist could be deleted; how gladly would the evangelist have left him out if he could! The unity and effectiveness of his Prologue were at least of as much concern to him as to any of us! But it could not be done.

Yes, the Baptist insists on being heard. It is notable that any primitive notice of Jesus' mission, whether a complete "gospel" or a brief sentence, is, almost without exception, begun with a notice of John's mission; apparently the former cannot be told without the latter. Indeed the effect given is that the latter is an integral part of the former, not its preface, but its first chapter. The Gospels do not intend to give this impression; what they want to say is that John is the forerunner, preparing the way and pointing forward to a mightier one who shall come after him. The impression they none the less give. Even Q, the earliest gospel-document known to us, began, according to Harnack and many other scholars, with an account of John. This, if we could be certain of it,

would be a most striking fact; it is, however, possible that the material concerning John in which Matthew and Luke agree in going beyond Mark, is taken, not from Q, but from another common source.

But our oldest existing Gospel is quite definite. "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ . . . John came baptizing," says Mark. Similarly the other canonical Gospels and the Gospel according to the Hebrews. So also the repeated statements of the Book of Acts. Compare 1 : 22, "beginning from the baptism of John"; 10 : 37, "beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached"; 13 : 24, "when John had first preached before his coming the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel." More remote apocryphal accounts, such as the Gospel of the Ebionites, follow the same course.

Nor is the frequency of the name of John in the primitive sources less notable. Save Jesus, Peter, and Paul, he is by far the most frequently named person in the New Testament, and this though he was neither a companion nor a follower of Jesus. His name, according to Moulton and Geden, occurs sixteen times in Mark, twenty-three times in Matthew, twenty-four times in Luke, nine times in Acts, or seventy-two times in the synoptic writers combined. This contrasts, for example, with the mention of that other St. John, the son of Zebedee, whom we meet ten times in Mark, three times in Matthew, seven times in Luke, nine times in Acts, or twenty-nine times in all. Besides, the Baptist is mentioned nineteen times in the Fourth Gospel, where the son of Zebedee is never named. Thus the New Testament names the Baptist ninety-one times, while his competitor and namesake is named

but thirty times (the thirtieth is in Galatians 2 : 9). The latter figure is not largely increased even if we should be so misguided as to admit the wholly untenable hypothesis that the John four times named as recipient and writer of the Apocalypse is the Zebedaide. Though not a Christian, John the Baptist is clearly the fourth most important person in the New Testament, looming large in the consciousness of the Christian writers.

One may, with no small profit, observe the way in which John is cited. At his first appearance (Mark 1 : 4) he is Ἰωάνης ὁ Βαπτίζων, John the one baptizing. Here his characteristic activity is specified, the participle present reproducing the fresh, contemporary judgment. The same phrase recurs in 6 : 14 and 24. Twice, however (6 : 25 and 8 : 28), this ὁ Βαπτίζων is replaced by another phrase, ὁ Βαπτιστής, the Baptist, a more formal title which, as it were, looks back upon John's activity and identifies him with a certain movement or party. There is a difference of chronological attitude between calling a man "the one who is baptizing" and calling him "the Baptist"; the former usage has a certain immediacy lacking in the latter. Indeed, to call John "the Baptist," late in the first century, no longer necessarily implies that he himself administered the rite of baptism; the term only identifies him with a movement of which baptism is characteristic. Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, 80) speaks of "Baptists" precisely as we do to-day, as a religious sect or denomination. The term "John the Baptist" no more by its wording asserts that John baptized others than the parallel term "John A. Broadus, the Baptist," makes this statement concerning the modern scholar; ὁ Βαπτίζων says that John administered a

certain rite, ὁ Βαπτιστής that he belonged to a certain fellowship.

Having thus differentiated the two Marcan titles of John, we should define more precisely the content of the one which describes his activity. It is a commonplace that as βάπτω means to dip, βαπτίζω means to immerse or submerge. But does this undoubted fact make it quite clear what John actually did when he "baptized" the great hosts of those who came confessing their sins? Can we visualize his procedure? Do any of our sources indicate, to be quite concrete, whether in first-century baptisms the candidate was actually plunged beneath the water by the hands of the "baptizer," or whether each candidate dipped himself? The usage of "profane" writers does not really help us here; they do not use the word in our sense.

It will be useful to face the matter directly in the case of another religious teacher of the first century. When Paul "baptized" Crispus and Gaius in Corinth (I Corinthians 1 : 14), did he literally lay hands on them and thrust them beneath the water or did he perhaps stand by and speak certain consecrating words, with the name of Jesus, while they performed the ablution for themselves? Whatever his act, for it he surely could not be called βαπτιστής; rather he would be βαπτίζων. This illustration from another man's activity may help us to see that βαπτιστής, whether applied to John or to one of his followers, means "one of that group or party which is characterized by purifying ablutions," and does not mean "one who with his own hands immerses others in water." John's followers, be it observed, are never called οἱ Βαπτίζοντες, but

always οἱ Βαπτισταί, though they are at least βαπτιζόμενοι, and many of them, carrying on their Master's propaganda, must have "baptized" others. They are named from a rite performed, not by them upon others, but upon themselves by others, or self-performed. They are "Baptists," not because they baptize, but because they are baptized.

But we are still not quite clear as to what the "baptizer" did. Our English lexicons, encyclopedias, and treatises do not, on the whole, give us much help in getting below the surface of the word. But having long ago learned that John Lightfoot's *Hebrew and Talmudic Exercitations* frequently offer the suggestions looked for in vain in later works, I found here, in the comment on Matthew 3 : 6, ample confirmation of conjectures already made. Lightfoot quotes Talmudic and Rabbinical passages describing the baptism of proselytes, which, despite the older questioning, was quite certainly used in John's time, and must have offered a close analogy. Of the proselyte it is said in the tractate *Yebamoth* of the Babylonian Talmud (folio 45–47) : "As soon as he grows whole of the wound of circumcision, they bring him to baptism, and being placed in the water, they again instruct him in some weightier and in some lighter commands of the Law. Which being heard, *he plungeth himself and comes up*, and behold, he is as an Israelite in all things. The women place a woman in the waters up to the neck, and two Disciples of the Wisemen, standing without, instruct her about some lighter precepts of the Law, and some weightier, while she in the meantime stands in the waters. And then *she plungeth herself*, and they, turning away their faces, go out, while she comes up

out of the water." Lightfoot comments on the fact that though it is earlier said, " and others baptized him," yet in this actual description of the act the language is " he baptized himself, or dipped, or plunged himself under the water." After further quotations, Lightfoot concludes, " We suppose, therefore, that men, women and children came to John's baptism, according to the manner of the Nation in the reception of proselytes. Namely, that they, standing in Jordan, were taught by John that they were baptized into the name of the Messiah that was now immediately to come; and into possession of the doctrine of the Gospel concerning Faith and Repentance; that *they plunged themselves* into the River, and so came out." [1]

We suppose precisely this, and submit that our pictorial representations of the baptism of Jesus will have to be revised if they would at all represent the actual original scene. John the Βαπτίζων corresponds to the Elders or the Disciples of the Wisemen who stand by and repeat the words of the divine Law. Some formula of spoken words we must assume in John's baptism, though we cannot at all know what it was. As patron and administrator of the rite, he is Βαπτίζων, even if he himself takes no part in the actual immersion of the candidate's body. Christian iconography might be of some illumination here. The earliest pictorial representations of Jesus' baptism known to me show almost without exception Jesus in the water, but John on the bank, quite high and dry. In none of them is he shown immersing Jesus, but at most pouring water over his head, as in the later custom of effusion.

[1] This Talmudic material is used and evaluated more briefly by W. Brandt, *Jüdische Baptismen* (1910), p. 60.

Is there not ground for the conjecture that where and while immersion remained the exclusive baptismal custom, the candidate immersed himself, his patron or "baptizer" simply standing by and pronouncing over him during the act the sacred formula, which, for Christians, included primarily a mention of the name of Jesus as the Messiah? When, for one reason or another, effusion was substituted (as we see it in the *Didache*), the pouring was most naturally and conveniently done by the "baptizer" rather than by the candidate himself. To this conjecture, at any rate, the language of no New Testament passage is clearly opposed. The gospel references to Jesus' baptism may all be understood in this way. The *Western* text of Luke 3 : 7 has the multitudes come to John *βαπτισθῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ*, where the T. R. (and Westcott-Hort) has *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*, following Mark 1 : 5. If this *Western* reading is not original, it at least seems a correct interpretation of Mark's ambiguous *ὑπό*, for Mark himself, in 1 : 4, does not say that John "baptized," but that he "announced" a baptism. Wellhausen (*ad* Mark 1 : 4 f.) makes this point, and declares roundly, "Der Täufling wird nicht untergetaucht, sondern taucht sich selber unter. . . . Gemeint ist jedensfalls nur, dass die Leute unter den Augen des Täufers, auf sein Geheiss und in seinem Sinn, sich dem Akte unterzogen."

Throughout the New Testament the verb *βαπτίζειν* is found in all three voices, but the active and passive forms are more easily explicable, if the immersing were self-performed, than are the middle forms, if it were the act of some one else. A clear and simple example is Mark 7 : 4, *ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται* (W. H. has

the variant synonym, *ῥαντίσωνται*) *οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν.* Here is a ceremonial ablution performed on one's self. But for precisely the same act the passive might be used, as in Luke 11 : 38, where the Pharisee marvels that before the meal Jesus does not perform the ceremonial ablution (*οὐ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη*).[1] Do we not make a distinction which did not originally exist between what we call (Johannine or) early Christian baptism and such ceremonial washings? Whatever was the difference in significance and moral content, was not the procedure in either case essentially the same? The *διάφοροι βαπτισμοί* of Hebrews 9 : 10, named along with foods and drinks as Jewish ordinances, are obviously personal lustrations; why not also the *βαπτισμοί* of Hebrews 6 : 2, where all the steps of Christian beginnings are listed?

In I Corinthians 10 : 2, Paul, in citing the Old Testament type of Christian baptism, says *οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν . . . πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο.* The middle reading is surely original here,[2] though von Soden adopts the variant *ἐβαπτίσθησαν.* They immersed themselves in the cloud, as they went down into the sea, and this is a type of what Christians do in baptism. Similarly in Acts 22 : 16 Ananias is quoted as saying to Paul *ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου.* The two middle verbs are unambiguous. "Arise, dip thyself in water and wash

[1] On these two passages as meaning ritual ablutions, cf. W. Brandt, *Jüdische Reinheitslehre und ihre Beschreibung in den Evangelien* (1910), pp. 34–41.

[2] Cf. B. S. Easton in *The Constructive Quarterly* (1919), p. 104, note 9. Later (p. 127) Easton admits that "the use of the middle voice in I Cor. 10 : 2 and Acts 22 : 16 may indicate that the candidate sometimes submerged himself, without action on the part of the officiant, but elsewhere the passive is invariable." This requires qualification.

away thy sins." In I Corinthians 15 : 29 the obscure allusion to baptism for the dead uses *βαπτίζονται* and *βαπτιζόμενοι*. Are these forms middle or passive? It is impossible to tell, on grammatical grounds, but in view of the obscurity of the practice itself, it is more probable that these persons performed upon themselves a solemn lustration than that they secured the coöperation of some apostle or elder who " baptized " them in the modern sense.

The mass baptisms mentioned in the Acts are most naturally thought of as self-administered in the presence of the apostle or other Christian leader who has brought the multitude to conversion. So in 2 : 38 Peter says *μετανοήσατε καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν*, " Repent ye, and let each one of you be immersed." As a result, in verse 41 about three thousand persons were thus baptized. Surely Peter did not personally immerse each one in turn, on that one day, beginning some time after 9 A. M. (verse 15). The detail may be unhistoric, but if the ablution were self-performed, it is of course wholly feasible.[1] In Acts 8 : 12, in consequence of Philip's preaching in Samaria, *ἐβαπτίζοντο ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες*. Whether the verb is middle or passive is immaterial; in any case it is doubtful whether Philip did the immersing. In 10 : 47 f., after Peter has preached to the Gentiles in the house of Cornelius, he asks, " Can any man forbid the water that these

[1] On the other hand, John E. Clough, *Social Christianity in the Orient* (1924), p. 286, tells how six missionaries baptized 2222 persons in a river in India in one day beginning at 4 : 30 A.M. and continuing until sunset. As the missionaries were Baptists they doubtless did the actual immersing, but they were six, while Peter was one; they averaged only 370 each, and had 13½ hours. But the whole account is an interesting parallel to early Christian mass-baptisms.

should not be baptized (*τοῦ μὴ βαπτισθῆναι*)?" And he commanded them to be baptized. By whom? Obviously not by himself. Nor is it probable that the task was assigned to the brethren from Joppa who were his companions (verse 23). Is anything more intended than Peter's bidding that they should take the ceremonial bath, while he spoke over them the name of the Lord Jesus?

In thus commenting on these passages we are of course indifferent as to whether they are historic; primitive Christian usage is at any rate reflected. A frequent phrase in the Synoptics and Acts is "the baptism of John" (*βάπτισμα Ἰωάνου* seven times), which surely means rather "the baptism which he preached" than "the immersion which he performed." Compare the repeated phrase "preaching a baptism of repentance" (Mark 1 : 4; Luke 3 : 3; Acts 10 : 37, 13 : 24). Apollos knew only the baptism of John (Acts 18 : 25), and the twelve in Ephesus (19 : 3) had been baptized into John's baptism. It is improbable that any of these men had been immersed by John; the reference is clearly to the baptism which he preached.

Finally, compare the fine figure in Mark 10 : 38 f., "Can ye be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized (*τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι*)?" Since the infinitive is here passive, are we forbidden to construe *βαπτίζομαι* as middle? It does not matter; the reference is clearly to an experience entered into by the Master's own consecrated choice, as it must similarly be self-chosen by the disciples. They are not passively plunged into it by some external force. So in the echo of this passage in Luke 12 : 50 (*βάπτισμα δὲ ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι*), Jesus with deliberate

will goes down into the deep waters, in anguish till it be accomplished.

In any piece of investigation like this, it is a salutary thing, having reached some tentative conclusion, to go back through the earlier literature of the matter, inquiring how far these results have been anticipated by others. It is salutary in checking any budding pride of originality; no less so for the confidence in one's own conclusions which is lent by the consenting and independent conclusions of distinguished predecessors. Out of many such references, a few may find space here. Matthias Schneckenburger published in Berlin in 1828 his book, well known at least by title to scholars of our generation, *Uber das Alter der Proselytentaufe*. Although written a century ago, it is still worth our study, and has much significant comment on the baptism of John. Let me give the substance of a passage on pp. 42 f. We may well ask: Did John himself baptize "all Judea and Jerusalem"? The familiar passage in Josephus' *Antiquities* says only that he summoned men to a washing with water, that is, as viewed by contemporaries, to a customary lustration. Were the three hundred of Acts 2 : 41 in one day initiated by the apostles themselves acting as immersers, or is it not more probable that they together performed a lustration upon themselves? So the ablution of Aaron and his sons in Exodus 29 : 4, 40 : 12 was probably not performed "by" Moses; they bathed themselves at his bidding, after the analogy of Numbers 8 : 6 f. None of the accounts of Jesus' baptism indicates that John did the immersing. The indication is rather to the contrary; *τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτόν* (Matthew 3 : 15) naturally means, "Then John permitted Jesus to perform his ablution."

Wilhelm Brandt, in his *Evangelische Geschichte* (1893, p. 457 f.), has a very important note for our purpose. He raises precisely our question: What was this "baptism" which gave John his title of "Baptist"? His answer is that in the contemporary Aramaic, as well as in Hebrew, there was no distinction between "baptism" and any "bath." So the title "Baptist" means only "one characterized by the practice of bathing," a term most naturally used of the members of a party or sect. As applied to John, it did not mean that he immersed other people in the waters of Jordan (about which Brandt has grave doubts), but that he began the practice of purifying ablutions for himself, and preached the value and obligation of the same for others. He thus came to be called the "Baptist," and following his precept and example, his converts became "Baptists" also.

More specifically, Brandt has this to say of the Johannine ablutions themselves: "They were purifying baths, which every one had to undertake by himself (*Reinigkeitsbäder die jedermann privatim vorzunehmen hatte*)." This *privatim*, however, goes too far. Brandt doubts altogether the historic occurrence of the public baptism of the multitudes in Jordan. There is no indication of this in the Josephus passage, he says, (an observation already made by Schneckenburger). Moreover, Palestinian Jews did not use rivers for ceremonial bathing, and the Jordan is specifically mentioned in the Mishna as unsuited, by reason of its mixed waters, for purposes of purification. Further, Jordan banks are too desolate and too far from Jerusalem to draw the crowds mentioned in the gospel accounts. Brandt seems to have himself felt that he

had here been perhaps too skeptical, for seventeen years later in his brochure *Die Jüdischen Baptismen* (1910, pp. 82 f.) he suggests that this difficult five-hour journey to a barren shore, followed by a cold bath in the river, especially if, as now seems probable to him, it took place in the winter, was possibly itself an act of penance. However much of truth this latter interesting suggestion may contain, Brandt has done real service in this monograph in showing that in a long list of Jewish and Christian sects *βάπτισμα* is used for the ceremonial bath, whether it be the solemn initiatory ablution of the proselyte or the Christian convert, or the daily or hourly repeated lustration of ascetic devotees. The "Hemerobaptists" did not every day find some obliging ecclesiastical dignitary to thrust them into the waters! They did it for themselves. In the whole of Brandt's suggestive treatment, and in all the relative passages, whether quoted from rabbinic sources, from the New Testament, or from extra-canonical Christian documents, there is no direct and clear indication that any one was "baptized by" another as in the modern practice of immersion, or that *ὁ βαπτίζων* in this connection means "he who immerses another."

The judgment of Wellhausen has already been quoted. With it agrees that of Martin Dibelius, whose monograph *Die Urchristliche Überlieferung von Johannes dem Täufer* (1911) is one of the few really worthy treatments which John has received. Besides repentance, says Dibelius (p. 135), John demanded only one thing of a convert, that he should have himself baptized in the Jordan; "more precisely, that he should, at the Master's bidding and in his presence, immerse himself in the water."

In a note, Dibelius refers to the *Western* reading, ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, in Luke 3 : 7 as confirming his view that the self-ablution of John's converts must be in the river, in John's very presence, at his word, so that he is truly ὁ βαπτίζων. These baptisms could not be so *privatim* as Brandt at first thought, as so many religious lustrations of the time were, purely solitary washings, where no one functioned as βαπτίζων. There is interesting comment on this point by I. Abrahams (*Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, First Series, 1917, pp. 38 f.). This expert in the Rabbinical material points out that the baptism of proselytes into Judaism always required the presence of elders or others. But this necessity was solely for the purpose of witnessing; " there seems to have been no act on the part of the witnesses. . . . In only one case of baptism did the bystander participate actively. On entering Jewish service, a heathen slave was baptized. If he claimed that such baptism was for complete proselytism, he became free. But in order to make it clear that the baptism was not for this purpose, the owner of the slave was required to seize hold of him while in the water, as a clear indication that the baptism was not a complete proselytism. Obviously in cases of proselytes the baptism would be the perfectly free, unfettered and unaided act of the proselyte himself." If this procedure gives the analogy, as Dr. Abrahams believes it does, for John's baptism (which, it may not be superfluous to remark, is a phenomenon in the history of Judaism rather than of Christianity), the latter also consisted in the free, unaided act of the candidate, who, standing in the water, immersed himself at the bidding and in the presence of John. Thus is fully

documented the recent brief statement of Professor Edward I. Bosworth (*The Life and Teaching of Jesus*, 1924, p. 63), that John "called on all men to go down into the Jordan in his presence and immerse themselves in its waters as a dramatic declaration that they had repented and wished to be morally clean." And thus is shown inadequate the traditional position, to which James Hope Moulton gives clear expression (*A Grammar of New Testament Greek:* Prolegomena, 1906, p. 127): "If the Baptist is called ὁ βαπτίζων (Mark 6 : 14, 24), 'the baptizer,' the phrase is less of a technical term than the noun, but is othe wise synonymous therewith." Rather "the baptizer" is one who summons his fellows to the purifying ablution and presides over their performance of this rite; "the Baptist" is a member of a group characterized by such ablutions.

Thus at some length we have tried to fix as precisely as possible the content of the term ὁ βαπτίζων, which Mark but three times, and no other New Testament writer at all, applies to John. Mark is conscious that John "baptized"; he is more conscious that he "preached a baptism of repentance" and was the leader of a party of "baptists," a title which he twice uses for the prophet instead of ὁ βαπτίζων (6 : 24, 8 : 28). The other eleven mentions of John in Mark omit either descriptive phrase; he is simply "John," as if too well known to writer and readers — about the year 70 — to need further specification. This usage is especially striking in 2 : 18: "And John's disciples and the Pharisees were fasting." The readers are supposed to be familiar with the concept μαθηταὶ Ἰωάνου, though the Gospel has not previously described

or even named any such group. The host of baptized persons from " all the country of Judea and all the Jerusalemites," among whom Jesus is also reckoned, is clearly not the magnitude intended by the author when he speaks of " the disciples of John " who were fasting. He knows a definite and limited group and something of their characteristic practices. His comment throws less light on the year 30 than on the year 70. It is in the latter time when answer is most imperatively demanded to the question : Why do Baptists and Pharisees (Jews together) fast, and Christians do not ?

When we turn to Matthew and Luke, ὁ βαπτίζων has entirely disappeared. We find no longer the verbal form which brings before us the actual practice of the living man. In its place we have the party-title ὁ βαπτιστής (seven times in Matthew, three times in Luke, nowhere again in the New Testament), or simply " John." The great man is thought of in his connection with a familiar contemporary movement or sect, or else his bare name suffices, as too well known to need further precision. This latter usage is especially marked in the writer *ad Theophilum*, in whose Gospel we find the simple " John " twenty-one times out of twenty-four, while in Acts the unqualified name is invariable. In this respect Acts parallels the Fourth Gospel, where the absence of ὁ βαπτίζων and ὁ βαπτιστής has often been noted. We are all familiar with the argument which makes this fact witness to the Johannine authorship of the Gospel. Because the author's name is John, we are told, he never thinks to differentiate the other John from himself, whereas another writer would necessarily distinguish between the two

Johns known to him. *Ergo*, John wrote the — Book of Acts!

All this examination of the statistics of nomenclature is of importance only as it very clearly suggests that the personality of the Precursor is very fresh and familiar in the minds of Christians in the last quarter of the first century. Had John's movement been merely preliminary, had it declined and disappeared after the death of its founder and the more notable mission of Jesus, it would have vastly less prominence in our Christian sources. Unless it had contemporary significance when the Gospels were written, it would not have had much more than an antiquarian interest for the evangelists; in other words, practically no interest at all. Especially does this seem true in view of the fact that its one point of direct contact with the Christian movement, namely Jesus' baptism by John, became very early a puzzle and an embarrassment for the Christian apologist. Why not omit or obscure it and all that went with it, as the Fourth Evangelist almost does? Many elements in the experience of Jesus are thus forgotten or obscured in the Christian tradition. Why? Because, to the developing church, they were, or seemed to be, without gospel value. To understand our Gospels at all, we must ever again remind ourselves that what we read is written there not because it was interesting, or because it was a known item of the Master's biography, but solely and only because it somehow enshrined the "gospel." The evangelical tradition is perpetuated in preaching; only those traditions are preserved which are preached about. Our Gospels but codify those matters which still occupy the preacher's attention in the years of

their composition. John the Baptist is still much preached about; he is a live topic, not a dead issue, and our Gospels make it comparatively easy to see why the preachers were still talking about him, as well as the general line and tendency of their discussion. But that investigation would lead us beyond our present limitation to Prolegomena.[1]

[1] The present article may be supplemented somewhat by a treatment by its author of "John the Baptist in the New Testament," in the *American Journal of Theology* (1912), the data of which are drawn chiefly from Luke.

JOHN THE BAPTIST AND JESUS

An Essay in Historical Reconstruction

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JOHN THE BAPTIST AND JESUS

The traditional view of the official relationship between John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth is well known. As generally stated it is that the former was the forerunner of the latter, that his work was merely preparatory and annunciatory. This, however, is not a complete statement of the matter. The work of John might have been all that is claimed in the sense of preparation and John himself have remained unconscious of its significance. More accurately the view that is commonly held is that John was consciously the preparer for Jesus and that his official position was a matter of divine appointment. There is not a little in the gospel records to support such a view. The synoptic evidence, following Mark,[1] is uniform in advancing the argument that John was the fulfilment of the prophetic promise of a preparer of the way. It is true that the prophecy quoted by the three synoptists varies in extent and in some details, but the argument appears in all three. John is also represented as stating that he would be succeeded by one who in prestige, power, and function would greatly surpass him.[2] But the only bit of evidence in the synoptic narratives that even suggests that John identified Jesus of Nazareth with this august personage of the near future is an isolated verse[3] in

[1] Mark 1 : 2–3 and parallels. [2] Mark 1 : 7–8.

[3] Matt. 3 : 14. There is of course the question of Matthew 11 : 2–3, Luke 7 : 19. We have no intimation of the effect of Jesus' answer on John.

the Gospel according to Matthew in which there is a gentle remonstrance on the part of John regarding the propriety of his baptizing Jesus.

When one turns, however, to the Fourth Gospel, one is met by evidence of a much more direct character. The argument from prophecy which, in the case of the synoptic writers, is given on the authority of the evangelists is here found in the mouth of the Baptist himself. "What sayest thou of thyself? He said, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord as said Isaiah the prophet." [1] The promise of an impressive successor who is even then in their midst is also made by John.[2] But the striking addition in this Gospel is the statement by John that there had been a divine arrangement made with him and a divine revelation granted to him, and that by the outward sign of the descent of the Spirit in dove-like form the Divine Messiah, the Son of God, should be identified and made known to him. This John has seen in the case of Jesus, and his testimony is clear and indisputable. All that remains for John to do is to make known to others this amazing fact, a duty which he immediately performs, and then to retire gracefully and leave the field to the Messiah. This the Fourth Gospel has him do as it gives us his last personal word, "He must increase, but I must decrease." [3]

This view thus presented is a simple one with few difficulties if one looks only at the selected facts adduced. It may be considered an entirely natural one in view of the accepted Messianic claim and function of Jesus, and the connection of his Messianic office with that of a deliverer promised in the Old Testament.

[1] John 1 : 22–23. [2] John 1 : 26–27. [3] John 3 : 30.

But there are other statements in the Gospels and further evidence in the New Testament which the impartial historian must consider and which are exceedingly difficult to integrate with the generally accepted view that John the Baptist was consciously and by divine appointment the forerunner of Jesus. This view would make it imperative for John to retire from the field when the mightier one appeared and to merge his movement with that of Jesus. As already indicated the writer of the Fourth Gospel feels the force of this necessity and has John meet it. But upon the basis of evidence that cannot be lightly disregarded this imperative seems not to have been obeyed. The evidence must be regarded as indicating the actual state of affairs, for it would not exist otherwise, because it is contrary to the trend of early Christian interpretation and desire.

It seems quite clear that John did not cease his activities when and because Jesus appeared on the field, although there are statements in Mark and Matthew[1] which imply that Jesus' activities began only after John was removed from active life. There is a record in the Fourth Gospel that states clearly that for a time at least while John was free the two movements proceeded side by side: "After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judea, and there he tarried with them and baptized. And John also was baptizing in Ænon near to Salim, because there was much water there; and they came and were baptized. For John was not yet cast into prison."[2] Moreover, there are indications that perfect harmony did not exist between the leaders and the

[1] Mark 1 : 14, Matthew 4 : 12, 17. [2] John 3 : 22–23.

movements, and there were at least the seeds of rivalry. "When therefore the Lord knew that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John (although Jesus himself baptized not but his disciples) he left Judea and departed again into Galilee." [1] Even when allowance is made for the pragmatic influence manifest in the section, the thought will not down that there is more here than simple exaltation of the Christian movement over that of the Baptist. The reference in Luke [2] to the disciples of John reporting to their master the works and wide-spread fame of Jesus indicates that the followers of John were still his "disciples" and that the other movement and its leader were matters of interest and report. Another reference in Luke [3] suggests that the followers of Jesus were not desirous of having their movement in any respect inferior to that of John. "And it came to pass that as he was praying in a certain place one of his disciples said to him, Lord, teach us to pray as John also taught his disciples." The full significance of the last clause is easily missed, but it should not be overlooked. A further indication that the movements went their own ways, which were more or less diverse, and that they were not entirely without rivalry, is found in a discussion regarding fasting. Mark records for us that, "John's disciples and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not." [4] Matthew has the complaint come from the Johannine disciples alone, while Luke adds the phrase, "and make supplications." There is here manifest an attitude of criticism and rebuke of the followers of Jesus by those of John.

[1] John 4 : 1–3. [2] Luke 7 : 18, cf. Matthew 11 : 2 ff.
[3] Luke 11 : 1. [4] Mark 2 : 18.

When one turns from the Gospels to the Acts of the Apostles two incidents merit attention. The first is an interesting notice [1] concerning Apollos, an eloquent Alexandrian who had received some Christian instruction but had submitted only to the baptism of John. For our purpose the point to be noted is that in Alexandria at this time the Johannine movement persisted. It is difficult to see how this statement can represent anything but the general fact, for there was no practical purpose extant to originate it. The second incident [2] is that related concerning a discovery of Paul at Ephesus. He found there a certain group called "disciples" who had not shared a certain experience which was considered to be of no small importance in the Christian life of the time. No ecstatic gift of the Spirit had yet been manifested in them. Upon inquiry Paul discovers that they had received the Johannine baptism, which he promptly informs them was only preparatory, and by inference inferior, to baptism "into the name of the Lord Jesus." Again, passing certain critical questions which are not germane to our discussion, it is to be noted that in one of the most important centers of Asia Minor, a generation after its founder had passed from the scene, the Baptist movement is in existence and its baptism is being administered.

There is also patristic evidence [3] from Justin Martyr

[1] Acts 18 : 24–28. [2] Acts 19 : 1–7.

[3] This evidence can be surveyed in Baldensperger, *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums* and is alluded to in convenient form in an article by Clayton R. Bowen in the *American Journal of Theology*, XVI (1912), p. 105. As examples of this patristic evidence we quote the following: "Some even of the disciples of John, who seemed to be great ones, have separated themselves and proclaimed their own master as the Christ." *Clementine Recognitions*, I : 54. "One of the disciples of John asserted that John was the Christ, and not Jesus, inasmuch as Jesus himself declared that John was greater than all men and all the prophets." *Ibid.*, I : 60.

to Ephrem Syrus concerning the persistence of the Baptist movement which, if not great in quantity, is by its incidental character of importance in establishing the point that the work and followers of John persisted and did not cease nor merge themselves in the movement of Jesus of Nazareth when it appeared and gained headway.

But the persistence of the movement is not the only point to consider. There is evidence that a spirit of rivalry sprang up between the two movements and that the persistence of the Baptist's cause and the claims of its adherents created a difficult situation for Christendom in the face of its documentary statements that John was consciously and by prophetic decree the forerunner of Jesus. A few indications of rivalry such as the request to be taught a form of prayer, the dispute about the matter of fasting, the implied envy at the larger number of converts to the Christian movement have already been noticed. But the manifest anti-Johannine polemic of the Fourth Gospel is strong testimony to the embarrassment of Christians in the presence of the Baptists and their claims. The writer, or editor, of that Gospel is so impatient to place John and his movement in a position of inferiority to Jesus and his movement that he interrupts the prologue with Johannine material[1] which in thought belongs between verses 18 and 19 of the first chapter. In this material it is stated categorically that the divine purpose in sending John was that he might bear testimony to the great illuminator and revealer, the Eternal Logos. It would be a mistake and a misinterpretation of the purpose of God to consider John the Baptist as the

[1] John 1 : 6–8, 15.

revealer of God and the way to him. He must not be confused with the true light. A rather curious reference meets us in a later chapter of this Gospel, "He [John] was the lamp that burneth and shineth and ye were willing to rejoice for a season in his light." [1] Had there been, and were there, Messianic claims for John? and had he been looked upon as a great revealer? Such a situation would give meaning to a passage like this.

There is forthcoming, however, more direct testimony [2] than any Christian denial or claim. John will classify himself. To interrogating priests and levites who ask the question of his identity he replies, "I am not the Christ." The statement is meaningless if no one had so considered him and if no such claim had been made on his behalf. But the point of importance for primitive Christianity is that John himself gives the quietus to any such claim or suspicion. Neither, on his own confession, is he Elijah. This in spite of his identification with that Old Testament personage in the synoptic Gospels. Even this is too great an honor to be allowed him. In Jewish circles the thought had some currency that Elijah would return to do some work in preparation for the coming of the Messiah. The passage in Malachi is clear on this point and is probably the ground for other references. Christian interpretation appropriated this idea, and it would be natural (as the synoptics do) to couple the Christian claim of the function of John with the identification of him with Elijah. But the polemic influence is too strong to permit the writer of the Fourth Gospel to do this. Nor is he "the prophet." Doubtless the

[1] John 5 : 35. [2] John 1 : 19 ff.

evangelist has in mind here the "prophet like unto Moses."[1] Apparently some confusion of thought existed regarding this prophet. If we may trust a synoptic passage,[2] Jeremiah was considered in some circles to have a preparatory office, while a prophetic figure without further identification held the minds of others. By some it is probable that this prophetic leader was identified with the Messiah. In the Fourth Gospel it must be the preparatory work that is in mind, for John has already denied that he is the Messiah. The purpose is evidently to reduce the honor due to John to lower terms. He is merely a voice (his personality is not important) uttering a message of preparation. The importance of this testimony on the lips of John is seen in the emphatic statement, "And he confessed, and denied not, and he confessed, I am not the Christ." It must have been a matter of concern when the denial is as vehement as in this case. This feeling is heightened when we find the testimony repeated later.[3]

It is probable that the priority in time of John's cause had been an argument in the almost certain discussion as to the relative importance of the two movements. John is made to give testimony which completely offsets this advantage in time, "This is he of whom I said, After me cometh a man who is become before me, for he was before me."[4] The chronological sequence of the earthly careers cannot be denied, but it shrinks into nothingness before the preëminence of the Eternal Logos. No more can a loyal follower of the Baptist reproach a Christian with the secondary

[1] Deuteronomy 18 : 15.
[2] Matthew 16 : 14.
[3] John 3 : 28.
[4] John 1 : 30.

character of his master and his cause. John's own word stops that.

With the situation so clear in the mind of the Baptist, with his task plainly marked out for him by divine revelation, there remains only one thing for John to do, namely, to turn over his followers to the one whose coming he had foretold, the Messianic Son of God. This, according to the Fourth Gospel, he immediately proceeds to do. The day following his renunciation of Messianic authority and office he publicly designates Jesus as the saviour of the world and leaves no doubt as to the accuracy of his identification. On the succeeding day he begins the transfer of his disciples to Jesus. He does this not by any direct command but by patent suggestion which is quickly followed by those to whom it is made. After that the transfer is carried on by the disciples themselves. They are no longer in any doubt as to the proper procedure. If any persist in clinging to the Baptist movement, it is in the face of the manifest testimony and intent of their master. That it was neither in the purpose of God nor in the mind of John that his movement should continue, much less compete with the Christians, is decisively set forth in words[1] whose nobility and pathetic beauty have helped to hide their historical significance. When news of the success of Jesus was reported to him, instead of retort or criticism, he tells his disciples that this is the plan and counsel of God and that the success of Jesus is gladdening to his heart. As for the future — he and his grow less; it is in the decree that Jesus and his word and work shall " grow to more and more."

But the Evangelist is not content to leave his oppo-

[1] John 3 : 26–30.

nent here. The superiority of Jesus must be made still more manifest. Doubtless the rite of baptism was of great importance in the movement, as it gave title both to master and to followers. Jesus himself is too important to give himself to such activities; his converts are baptized by his disciples.[1] John may do such tasks, but not the greater than John. The light of the world — the true light — is permanent in its shining and its effects. John's gleam is not denied, but it is not the "true light" and is only temporary in character. The mighty works of Jesus, the signs of his power and dignity — these find no counterpart in John. The true light can give sight to blind eyes, but no miracle like that or any other was performed by John. His sole claim to distinction is that the witness he bore to Jesus has been demonstrated to be true.[2]

So John the Baptist finds his place. He is deprived of his eminent position of prophetic leader in an ethicized Messianic movement. Whatever lofty conceptions of him the people and his followers might hold, and whatever extravagant claims might be made on his behalf, they cannot be traced back to him. He knows that he is but the utterer of a given message concerning Jesus; that is his sole task. Having accomplished this, he leaves the scene to Jesus himself.

There can be but one explanation of this strange reversal by the Evangelist of the testimony of the synoptics. The Christians of Asia Minor about the turn of the first Christian century have been compelled to face a Baptist sect whose claims for themselves and

[1] John 4 : 2. [2] John 10 : 41.

their master have made difficult the maintenance of Christian thought concerning John. Claims of Messianic dignity, of equality if not superiority to Jesus, claims of greater importance on the ground of priority and service seem to have been among the elements of an embarrassing situation. For devoted Christian minds and hearts these claims were unthinkable; they cannot be true. The testimony of John himself is the means by which they are ruled out of court

Some things concerning the Baptist movement are comparatively clear. It is indisputable that it was a movement of greater vigor, magnitude, and importance than uncritical Christian thought has imagined. It had vigor enough to perpetuate itself in some form for centuries even in the face of testimony to its temporary character. Apart, however, from the Fourth Gospel and patristic evidence, there are not lacking references which indicate the greatness of the man and the effects of his message. These indications are important because they are of a character which early Christian thought would not originate and which reflect with a high degree of probability the actual situation.

First of all, there is the testimony both of Marcan and non-Marcan sources as to the attracting power of John's ministry. "And there went out to him all the country of Judea, and all they of Jerusalem, and they were baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins." [1] "But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism." [2] "He said therefore to the multitudes that went out to be baptized of him." [3] "And as the people were in expectation and all men reasoned in their hearts concerning John,

[1] Mark 1 : 5. [2] Matthew 3 : 7. [3] Luke 3 : 7.

whether haply he were the Christ." [1] Making all allowance for enthusiasm and hyperbole it seems evident that the preaching and work of John attracted wide attention.

That the impression which John created on the popular mind was not merely a passing one is suggested by a statement found in Mark [2] and copied by both Matthew and Luke. "The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or from men? Answer me. And they reasoned with themselves saying, If we shall say, From heaven, he will say, Why then did ye not believe him? But should we say, From men — they feared the people; for all verily held John to be a prophet."

The narrative concerning the relations between Herod Antipas and John is also in point here. The impression which that shrewd, if superstitious, man had gained of the prophet was such that when reports of the remarkable success of Jesus reached his ears he is said to have attributed them to a resurrected Baptist. When every deduction has been made for naïveté and superstitious fear, it remains that the impact made by John on Herod was such as could not have been made by a weak or inferior personality. It causes wonder as to the estimate which history would have formed of John had he not been so overshadowed by Jesus. An equally interesting bit of evidence is incidentally given in the reasons assigned by the evangelists for the hesitancy of Herod to put John to death. Mark [3] tells us that "Herod feared John, knowing that he was a righteous and holy man, and kept him safe." Matthew [4] adds the illuminating detail, "And when he

[1] Luke 3 : 15.
[2] Mark 11 : 30–32.
[3] Mark 6 : 20.
[4] Matthew 14 : 5.

would have put him to death, he feared the multitude, because they counted him as a prophet." Not only was the movement one of no mean proportions but its founder was an outstanding personality.

Further testimony to this can be taken from the lips of Jesus. This is recorded for us in the non-Marcan source[1] of Matthew and Luke. The fame of Jesus and reports of the striking success of Jesus' mission have been reported to John by his faithful disciples. The question as to whether this teacher and mighty worker can be the expected one raises itself in the mind of the imprisoned prophet. To satisfy the anxiety which the half-hope arouses he sends his followers to interrogate Jesus on the point. Too often this question has been interpreted in terms of a failing faith. This interpretation overlooks the explicit statement of what called forth the query. It was the fine curiosity of a nascent hope. But the matter of importance to us here is the tribute paid by Jesus to John. Originally the tribute goes back to Jesus, for there was no Christian interest in the first century that could give it birth. The courage, vigor, and integrity of John are set forth in a series of rhetorical questions and ironic answers. There can be no doubt that in Jesus' mind John possessed these desirable qualities in high degree. He is the culmination of the prophetic line, a noble representative of the varied channels of divine revelation. In an enthusiasm which to some might seem to border on the extravagant, he extols him as the greatest of women-born. According to the Lucan account this tribute met with instant and ardent response on the part of the people who heard it, this

[1] Matthew 11 : 1–19, Luke 7 : 18–35.

being further testimony to the widespread influence of John and his work.

In a quite striking passage Jesus is represented as contrasting himself and John and the character of their movements. Evidently there was criticism of both. The ascetic character of the latter is placed in strong relief against the kindly human social aspect of the former. No word of criticism issues from Jesus' lips. In fact in a somewhat cryptic passage he seems to be willing to test both movements by their results.

Christian pragmatism has been busy with these passages, and its alterations have obscured the generous tribute and open testimony of Jesus to his predecessor and contemporary. A clause, "Nevertheless he that is but little in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he," has been inserted with the purpose of making clear that John and his followers are distinct from and definitely outside the Christian movement with its peculiar rights to the blessings of the Messianic kingdom. The references to the preparatory work of John and his identification with Elijah also appear as results of later tendencies. But when these features are seen for what they are, there remains from Jesus a superlative testimonial to John the Baptist, a testimonial which betrays admiration and esteem. It would be difficult to conceive a finer tribute from one leader to another, and it is weighty evidence as to the importance of John.

The persistence of the Baptist movement, the Messianic significance attached by some to its founder, and its ability to rival to what was perhaps an embarrassing degree the Christian cause have already been

noted. Their bearing is also in the direction of showing the importance of the man and his movement.[1]

But what was the relation of Jesus of Nazareth to the Baptist and his work? The uncritical view is that there was almost no connection. But it is indisputable that Jesus was baptized by John. Mark makes the statement[2] without hesitation. If it were not a historical fact that could not be ignored nor denied, it would never have been recorded. It later became a very difficult matter in the Christian community. No reason can be conceived for the origin of such a tradition except the stubborn fact that the baptism took place. Luke tries to ease the bald Marcan statement by a suggestion that the baptism of Jesus took place after that of the others who came to John. It is a first halting step in the differentiation of the rite in Jesus' case from the cases of the others who submitted to it. Matthew goes farther and inserts a strange dialogue. After recording the fact that Jesus came to receive baptism at John's hands he proceeds, "But John would have hindered him saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? But Jesus answering said to him, Suffer it now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him."[3] Upon the basis of the actual occurrence of this important conversation it is surprising, to say the least, that no other New Testament tradition preserves it. It would have been of such use in demon-

[1] Consideration has not been given in this essay to the theory that we have in the first chapter of Luke a Baptist birth story which originally formed part of a Messianic document or Baptist gospel. The theory is interesting and does not lack for advocates, but its demonstration would serve us only as corroboratory evidence for some phases of our discussion.

[2] Mark 1 : 9. [3] Matthew 3 : 14–15.

strating the claim that John identified Jesus as the sent of God. The phrase "to fulfil all righteousness" in connection with baptism smacks strangely of the time when it was thought of as having some sacramental effect. In this connection it is by no means easy. How was a repentance-baptism a "righteousness" for Jesus? The explanation requires explaining. The probability is great that we have here a tradition which grew out of a situation in which the reception by Jesus of a baptism having the significance of John's baptism was felt to be a serious difficulty. Nevertheless it is indirect evidence of the actuality of that baptism.

It is in accord with the Christology of the Fourth Gospel that it omits all reference to Jesus' baptism. The incongruity of the Eternal Logos receiving a baptism connected with the remission of sins is too great. Some features of the experience of Jesus on that occasion as recorded in the synoptics are retained, but of the incident itself there is no mention.[1]

The submission by Jesus to the Johannine rite can mean nothing else than his adherence to that movement. And there was much in John's message and hope that would prove attractive to this young Jewish soul with the genius for religion. The high prophetic morality, the profound ethical demands, the hope of the kingdom, in a word, the freshness and virility of John's religious life and outlook and message, so strongly emphasized

[1] The Gospel according to the Hebrews, as quoted by Jerome, also bears testimony to the difficulty which the baptism of Jesus by John occasioned in the early church. "Behold the mother of the Lord and his brethren said unto him: John Baptist baptizeth unto the remission of sins, let us go and be baptized of him. But he said unto them, What have I sinned that I should go and be baptized of him? unless peradventure this very thing that I have said is ignorance."

by contrast with the externalism and sterility of Judaism in some quarters, made a mighty appeal to the young Nazarene. If we are correct in suggesting a close connection between Jesus and the Johannine cause, much that is otherwise difficult becomes plain and clear. The baptism is natural and inevitable; the surpassing tribute to John is explicable on the basis of early attraction, devotion, and estimation.

But if there is evidence that points in the direction of adherence by Jesus to John and his cause, there is still stronger evidence that he withdrew from them and inaugurated a movement of his own. The separateness of Jesus and his work from that of John is so strongly attested that we need not argue the point. But the question remains: why, on the hypothesis of an original connection, did the separation take place? Probably more than one cause was operative.

First, there would be the strong sense of personal mission which came to Jesus. There can be little doubt that the essence of the baptism experience as recorded by the synoptics is the coming to Jesus of an overwhelming sense of a divine call. Whatever later adoring fancy may have done with the narrative, if it has done anything, the nucleus of this tradition must have come from Jesus. It is by no means the line which later interpretation of him took. At that time a conviction of divine sonship, in the sense that he was the object of his Father's gracious favor and that he was in some way to represent him and work for him, laid hold on Jesus. In no other satisfactory way can the tradition be explained. The conviction mastered him, but the direction of his mission was not yet clear. The meditative struggle in the retirement and solitude

of the wilderness was necessary before he could come forth to his work and to the proclamation of his message. This was at the beginning couched in the same terms as that of John : " Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The form was the same; later developments were to show the difference of content.

With the baptism and wilderness experiences [1] behind him it was inevitable that Jesus should seek to do the work which he was convinced was his to do under the guidance of God alone and not under that of any earthly leader. Here we have sufficient explanation of the separation between these two who had much in common. It was a divine imperative that sent Jesus of Nazareth out on his own career.

But this is not all. If we can interpret in any fair way the inner character of John's teaching and practice from the scanty and prejudiced statements concerning it, it is not difficult to see that some features would sooner or later become distasteful to Jesus and force him to differ from the Baptist. That certain elements of formalism were perpetuated in the Johannine group is clear from the request of Jesus' disciples for a form of prayer similar to that used by John's followers and taught them by their master. The free spirit of Jesus had little inclination to be bound by precedent and form. In fact his freedom from such amazed his

[1] It might be objected that if baptism marked the beginning of adherence to John and if the wilderness struggle immediately followed it, there would be no time for such adherence. It is not necessary to think that baptism would mark the *initial* step of any connection between John and Jesus. Nor are we compelled to assume that the temptation struggle followed immediately upon the baptism. It is the logical rather than the rigid chronological connection that is here emphasized. Moreover, the question merits consideration as to whether the ministry of John the Baptist and the early experiences of Jesus were not of longer duration than the terse statements of the synoptics might lead one to think.

hearers. The dispute regarding fasting gives rise to another suspicion that something of the externalism against which Jesus so strongly set his face was still current in Johannine circles. Perhaps a similar tendency may be found in a reference[1] in the Fourth Gospel to a dispute regarding certain purifying procedures between Baptists and a Jew. It is probable that Jesus would find these features irksome.

Again, if we can interpret John's idea of God from the slight material which we possess, it is evident that in this fundamental matter the Baptist and Jesus were far apart. John's God is the God of Amos. Judgment is no strange work to him; rather he is the Judge of all the earth. While there is high ethical demand, there is, so far as we have record, no striking element of mercy and loving-kindness in John's presentation of him. It is possible that John was not devoid of this, but, if there, its place seems to have been secondary. "The wrath to come," the ax at the foot of the tree, the consuming fire — these are the emphatic points of John's message. There is nothing here to suggest the Father's interest in the sparrow's fall or his caring for the flower of the field. The waiting expectant forgiving father of the parable of the prodigal is not portrayed in the remotest fashion by John. True, the sterner moral qualities of God are not lacking in what we can gather of the genuine message of Jesus. But the emphasis on the gracious, kindly, helping interest of God which comes to life in Jesus' conception removes it from that of John even more strikingly than that of Hosea differs from that of Amos.

Did Jesus feel that his revelation of and concerning

[1] John 3 : 25.

God could not live abundantly in the atmosphere of the ascetic of the desert? Was he gradually, or suddenly, compelled to dissent from the minatory note so persistently sounded by the Baptist? It is well within the possible that we have here one of the factors that were operative in urging Jesus to a separate movement.

It is difficult to recover with certainty Jesus' thought of the kingdom for which he hoped and for which he wrought. Tradition has colored the written record. But that there were divergent elements and different emphases in the idea of Jesus when compared with that of John is most probable. The inner ethical quality, the free spiritual entrance, while not absent from what we have as John's message, are more precisely cut in the image of the kingdom which Jesus has in mind and which perhaps can be phrased in the words, "Thy will be done as in heaven so on earth." The question is raised as to whether this might not have been another, perhaps a lesser, element in bringing about the separation of Jesus from a movement in and through which he felt himself unable to do the task which he was confident had been laid upon him.

The view outlined in these pages is offered as a probable reconstruction of a phase of gospel history the difficulties of which have long been a matter of recognition. Demonstration in many of these matters is no longer possible, but by impartial consideration of the materials left to us some pathways to facts which now seem closed may open, and a clearer understanding of what actually took place in the travail days of the Christian religion may be ours. This essay is a tentative step in such a direction.

ὁ τέκτων

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Ὁ ΤΈΚΤΩΝ

The development of civilization depends to no small extent upon the division of labor and the differentiation of crafts. The progressive specialization of word meanings is an index, sometimes a tardy index, of this development. The generic terms which are used to designate the carpenter in nearly all the more important ancient languages of the eastern Mediterranean culture area, in Sumerian, Assyrian, Aramaic, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, *nagar*, חָרָשׁ, *τέκτων*, *faber*, are all supposed to be more or less ambiguous, and to admit of various interpretations depending upon the context in which they are used. In how far is this true? Is it possible to arrive at a more precise definition of the words used in any of these languages? Have these words developed different connotations at different periods in their history?

The matter has special interest for the student of the New Testament since the nature of the craft of Jesus has not been definitely determined. The character of building operations in the Near East raises a question as to whether it was merely carpentry, a question which is accentuated by uncertainty as to the differentiation of crafts. The early Christian writers are not unanimous as to its nature. Modern commentators and students of the life of Jesus are far from being at one on the subject. Modern lexicographers and archæologists are likewise divided as to the definition of the

terms involved. Do the words in the various languages of the Near East which are translated "carpenter" mean artisan in general, or do they mean carpenter, or mason, or smith? If "carpenter," that is, a worker in wood, then is it "carpenter and joiner," or "carpenter and builder," "contractor"? Or does it mean "ship-builder"? Does it sometimes mean "carpenter and mason," or "carpenter and ship-builder"? Or does the word, when used of Jesus, imply, as occasionally in the Talmud, "master craftsman" in interpretation, and is it, therefore, the equivalent of "teacher," "rabbi"? Entirely apart from its interest for the student of primitive Christianity, the semasiology of the words in question raises many points which are of importance for the lexicographer, the archæologist, and the historian.

The problem is to be approached from various angles. The usage of the various words for carpenter, joiner, mason, builder, architect, and smith in the several languages mentioned must be noted. The technique of building and of working in wood must be studied. The versions of the Old Testament offer materials for an interesting and suggestive comparative study. Finally, for the New Testament student, the references to carpentry and building and to the trade of Jesus in the writings of the early Christians are to be considered. This paper will be confined mainly to but one phase of the problem, the study of the Greek word for carpenter.

The Hebrew word חָרָשׁ appears never to have become specialized and was always used for "artisan" in general, the context or a defining modifier being necessary to determine its meaning. This is likewise true

of Latin *faber*, which had a tendency to travel toward "smith," but never actually arrived at a definite destination. On the other hand, though the Sumerologists and Assyriologists are decidedly at variance as to the origin and etymological meaning of *nagar*, and the lexicons present it as uncertain in meaning, a careful study of the Targums, the Talmud, and the Syriac version of the Old Testament will show, I believe, that נגר, ܢܓܪ was usually applied only to a worker in wood. The evidence for this statement I hope sometime to present.

The case with τέκτων seems to be much like that of חרשׁ and *faber*. The lexicographers are practically at one in representing it as meaning "artisan," with a strong tendency toward specialization as "carpenter," "cabinet-maker," as *faber* tended toward "smith." Modern lexica such as Pape and Liddell and Scott make the word appear far more indeterminate to the superficial glance than their authors probably intended, for they must list all the unusual meanings with appropriate illustrations, but cannot, of course, list all the cases where the common meaning "carpenter" is found. Blümner, to be sure, states definitely that τέκτων, unlike *faber*, "*dient in der classischen* (*und nachclassischen*) *Zeit vornehmlich zur Bezeichnung des Holzarbeiters in seinen verschiedensten Branchen, zumal im Gegensatz zum* χαλκεύς *oder Metallarbeiter überhaupt.*"[1] On the other hand, the ancient lexicographers, Hesychius and Suidas, agree that τέκτων is general in meaning. Hesychius says: τέκτων· πᾶς τεχνίτης, εἶδος φαλαγγίου. Suidas is more spe-

[1] *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* (Leipzig, 1879), Vol. II, pp. 166, 240.

cific; his definition is this: τέκτων· κοινῶς τεχνίτης, ὁ λαοξόος καὶ ὁ τῶν ξύλων εἰδήμων. In both, τεκταίνομαι is rendered by κατασκευάζω. However, lexicographers, both ancient and modern, are hardly to be credited with plenary inspiration. We can easily believe with Hesychius that a kind of spider may have been called a "carpenter," but classical and Hellenistic literature as well as the papyri offer abundant evidence to prove that τέκτων was almost universally reserved for the worker in wood and was only very rarely applied to artisans who used other materials. Since the evidences in Greek are enormous, the problem is correspondingly complicated. Out of the mass of data only the more significant items can be selected.

Etymologies are not decisive as to later denotations, and the derivation of τέκτων is a matter of debate. However the suggestion, represented by Prellwitz,[1] which relates the word to Vedic *taksha*, Sanskrit *takshan*, "carpenter," from *taksh*, "cut," seems superior to that which would relate it to τίκτω and derive both from a root which meant "form," "generate."

It is possible that both at the beginning and the end of its career τέκτων was general and indefinite. In modern Greek it may be used for "carpenter," but it serves also for "mason," even for a member of the Masonic order, and it has passed out of common use. The customary word for "carpenter" in modern Greek is ξυλουργός, for one who makes chairs and cabinets λεπτουργός. The mason, whether bricklayer or stonemason, is κτίστης; the builder, whether with wood or stone, is οἰκοδόμος. It is possible that the *Iliad* pre-

[1] *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache*, 2 ed. (Göttingen, 1905).

serves survivals of the wider meaning. Hector built the dwelling of Paris with the help of

τέκτονες ἄνδρες
οἵ οἱ ἐποίησαν θάλαμον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν.

Another passage describes the polishing and decorating done by a κεραοξόος τέκτων.[1] But such occasional uses prove little as to the commonly accepted meaning of the word.

Figurative and poetical passages cannot be taken as decisive. Since the carpenter was a master workman, often an artist, the word τέκτων is used figuratively as the master of any art, of poets, of musicians, of a trainer of gymnasts, and of a physician.[2] Since he was in a true sense a producer, a creator of new forms, the word may mean the author of any work, as when Clytemnestra, looking at the dead Agamemnon, speaks of her hand as δικαίας τέκτων, or it may denote the cause of some happening, as when the "lawless sacrifice" of Iphigeneia is called νεικέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον, "natural (?) carpenter of quarrels."[3] According to a probable interpretation τέκτονες ἄρσενες in Æschylus, *Supplices*, 283, means the male as a maker of life, as Zeus in l. 593 is called the "creator of the race," γένους παλαιόφρων μέγας τέκτων.

In Euripides tents may be set up by the labors of carpenters, and "the starry-eyed chalice of heaven is the beautiful embroidery of the wise carpenter, Time." The Cyclopes are τέκτονες Διὸς πυρός, but that does

[1] *Il.* 6, 315; 4, 110.

[2] Pindar, *Pyth. O.*, 3, 200; τέκτονες σοφοὶ ἐπέων. Aristophanes, *Equites*, 530: τέκτονες ὕμνων. Pindar, *Nem. O.*, 3, 7: τέκτονες κώμων, 5, 90 (gymnast). *Pyth. O.*, 3, 11: τέκτων νωδυνίας.

[3] Æschylus, *Agam.*, 1406 and 152.

not prove that in ordinary life the τέκτων was a worker in metal, even if "smith" does suit fire better than "carpenter."[1] Still less can the *Homeric Hymn to Venus*, 12, be cited as an instance of τέκτων in the sense of "smith." The "chariots of war and cars variously wrought with bronze" are only decorated and reinforced with metal, and the principal labor on them is with wood.[2] Exactly the same thing is true of a passage in Pindar.[3]

The carpenter was often an artist in carving and inlaying, as the κεραοξόος τέκτων of the *Iliad* has already suggested. In the *Odyssey* (19, 56) we meet the carpenter Icmalius, who made a beautiful chair inlaid with ivory and silver. The τέκτων was often a woodcarver, but the passages usually cited to prove that he was a sculptor in stone are all poetical and all questionable in their implications as to the material used. In the *Trachiniæ*, 767–769, Sophocles says :

> καὶ προσπτύσσεται
> πλευραῖσιν ἀρτίκολλος, ὥστε τέκτονος,
> χιτὼν ἅπαν κατ' ἄρθρον.

Does not the admittedly difficult passage mean that the robe clung to Hercules' sides, following every joint, as if glued by a carpenter? As Jebb, in his comment on the passage, says, it is hardly fitting to liken the robe on a living man to one carved in stone on a statue. And the word ἀρτίκολλος clearly suggests the carpenter,

[1] *Ion*, 1129, σκηνὰς ἀνίστη τεκτόνων μοχθήμασιν; *Fragmenta, Sisyphos*, I, 33 f., τό τ' ἀστερωπὸν οὐρανοῦ δέπας, χρόνου καλὸν ποίκιλμα, τέκτονος σοφοῦ; *Alcestis*, 5.

[2] πρώτη τέκτονας ἄνδρας ἐπιχθονίους ἐδίδαξε
ποιῆσαι σατίνας τε καὶ ἅρματα ποικίλα χαλκῷ.

[3] *Pythian Odes*, 5, 35 f.

as does the figure of the *τέκτων* and his *κανών* in the Sophoclean Fragment, no. 474, 4.[1] Likewise in Euripides, *Alcestis*, 348, the form of his wife which Admetus will have made,

> *σοφῇ δὲ χειρὶ τεκτόνων δέμας τὸ σὸν*
> *εἰκασθέν*,

may perhaps rather better have been of wood than of stone.

The most ancient statues of the gods and goddesses were *ξόανα*, carved out of wood. It was quite natural that they should give place to more durable and more expensive materials. It lay also in the nature of things that few wooden statues should have been preserved to modern times, but it may well be questioned whether they did not persist in smaller cities and country districts. The Old Testament polemic against idolatry takes it for granted that idols were often made of wood, and it is the carpenter who makes such images. So the LXX understood Isaiah 40 : 19 f., translating, *μὴ εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν τέκτων, ἢ χρυσοχόος χωνεύσας χρυσίον περιεχρύσωσεν αὐτόν ; ὁμοίωμα κατεσκεύασεν αὐτόν ; ξύλον γὰρ ἄσηπτον ἐκλέγεται τέκτων.* It is a wooden image overlaid with gold. In Isaiah 41 : 7 the חרשׁ helps the צרף, the *τέκτων* the *χαλκεύς*, the נגרא the קנאה, the ܢܓܪܐ the ܩܢܝܐ, the *faber* the *ærarius*. All the versions agree on the combination. In Isaiah 44 : 12, 13 the חרשׁ ברזל works along with the חרשׁ עצים. The versions had difficulty with the corrupt text of verse 12, and the LXX misunderstood the technical terms, but the general purport of verses 13–20 was perfectly clear. Jeremiah 10 : 3 offers a complete description of such an

[1] Jebb-Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. by A. C. Pearson (Cambridge, 1917), Vol. II, p. 128.

image of wood and metal. The meaning of the Hebrew was plain to the Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin translators. The LXX, with *ἔργον τέκτονος καὶ χώνευμα*, while misunderstanding the word מעצד, " ax," and making it a molten image, expresses, even by its error, the combination of wood and metal which went into such images. Jeremiah 10 : 3–10, and especially verse 9, suggests the same partnership of crafts. The Aramaic and the Syriac reproduce the idea clearly; the Greek, *χεῖρ χρυσοχόων, ἔργα τεχνιτῶν*, and the Latin, *opus artificis et manus ærarii*, less distinctly. The uncertainty of the LXX and the Vulgate might be explained in one of two ways. Either the translators were not familiar with this particular technique, or their understanding of the Hebrew was deficient. Since we know the latter to have been true from other errors, it is the probable explanation of their mistakes in this case.

Traditions as to ancient wooden statues were widespread. Athenagoras, *Supplicatio* 4 (14), delights to recall the story of Diagoras, who cut up a *ξόανον* of Hercules to boil his turnips. But it is hardly probable that the Jewish and Christian writers who attack idolatry and use the wooden image as a climax in absurdity were familiar with that kind of statue only through tradition. They were still preserved even if no longer made. In an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of 213–17 A.D. an image of Demeter is described as having its bust of Parian marble, but the other parts of the body of wood (?).[1] The vivid description of the making

[1] P. Oxy. 1449, 10 f.: *ἀπὸ ἀρχαί]ων χρόνων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εἶναι ξόανον Δήμητρος . . . οὗ ἡ προτομ(ὴ) Παρίνη, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα μέρη τοῦ σώματ(ος) ξ[ύλινα]*.

of a wooden image by a ὑλοτόμος τέκτων in Wis. 13 : 11 reads as if it came from one who had at least seen such images with his own eyes, even if he had not seen them made. All this calls attention to an important part of a carpenter's work. Moreover, with these facts in mind, one cannot use the passages noted from Sophocles and Euripides, nor can the LXX be cited as positive evidence that τέκτων means ἀνδριαντοποιός, "sculptor."

The word τέκτων often implies still other work in wood that might be called λεπτουργία. The carpenter might be also a κλινοποιός. In the *Republic*, X, 2 (597 B, D), Plato allows τέκτων and κλινοποιός to change places as designations of the "maker of beds." It is interesting to find in the Zeno papyri a letter from Amyntas to the now famous steward of Apollonius dated 258–7 B.C., stating that Καλλιάναξ [ὁ] τέκτων [ὁ] κίναιδος παροινήσ[ας] κλίναις αἷς κατεσκεύακεν Ἀπολλωνί[ῳ].[1] In Recension A of the Greek *Gospel of Thomas*, chap. XIII, the child Jesus miraculously lengthens a short timber in order that Joseph may make a κράββατος for a rich patron. The making of tables,[2] chairs, chests, and other household furniture gave large scope for carving and inlaying, and in such a connection τέκτων may imply no inconsiderable artistic skill, as the passage already quoted from the *Odyssey* suggests.

The carpenter was also a maker of tools. In *Cratylus*, 388–390, Plato refers to the τέκτων as the maker of the κερκίς, the weaver's "shuttle," and contrasts him with the χαλκεύς, who makes an auger out of σιδηρός. According to Galen, V, 890, the τέκτων makes the ἄβαξ, or "platter," for the baker, and the καλόπους,

[1] PSI, V, 483. [2] Cf. Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, VIII, 2, 5.

or "last," for the shoemaker, though he cannot make his own tool, the ἀξίνη.[1] In the passage already cited, Wis. 13, 11, the ὑλοτόμος τέκτων . . . κατεσκεύασεν χρήσιμον σκεῦος εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ζωῆς before he uses the last discarded remnant of his εὐκίνητον φυτὸν for his god. Josephus, in his paraphrase of Samuel's address on the evils of a monarchy, adds the phrase ὀργάνων τέκτονας to τεχνίτας ὁπλοποιοὺς καὶ ἁρματοποιούς.[2] In a Cairo papyrus from Aphrodito, among a list of contributors to some honorific gift, mention is made of τέκτ(ονες) ὀργάν(ων) along with many other classes of workmen.[3] In a Florentine papyrus the writer makes the puzzling statement, [τοὺς τ]έκτ[ον]ας Ὀλυμπιόδωρον καὶ τοὺς [σὺν] αὐτῷ ἀπέστειλα ἕνεκεν [ἀνα]γκαίας χρείας ὥστε ἀργαλεῖα (= ἐργ.) κόψαι.[4] What kind of tools the carpenters can cut does not occur to me.

One of the important tasks of the carpenter was the making of agricultural implements. In a very instructive passage in *Works and Days*, 420 ff., Hesiod describes the making of a plow. The farmer himself is to assemble the wood for it. In the autumn after the rains begin and the trees cease to sprout and begin to shed their leaves, he will cut timber for mortars, pestles, axles, felloes, and the other ἑκατὸν δούρατ' ἀμάξης (l. 456), and many bent timbers, among which will be a plow-tree of oak,

> . . . ὃς γὰρ βουσὶν ἀροῦν ὀχυρώτατός ἐστιν,
> εὖτ' ἂν Ἀθηναίης δμῷος ἐν ἐλύματι πήξας
> γόμφοισιν πελάσας προσαρήρεται ἱστοβοῆι.

[1] Cf. Blümner, *Technologie*, Vol. II, p. 240, n. 4, Galen, ed. Kühnf.
[2] *Ant.*, VI, 40 (iii, 5); 1 Samuel 8 : 12.
[3] Maspero, *Pap. gr.*, Vol. II, p. 81, No. 67,147.
[4] P. Flor. 89 verso, iii A.D.

Like the pioneers in modern America and, indeed, farmers in all wooded lands, the Hesiodic farmer does no little carpentering himself, but he turns to the man of special skill for the finer parts of the work. The carpenter, as in Homer, is under the special protection of Athena; he is the "slave" of the goddess who became the patroness of many arts and crafts. The trade of wagon-making was specialized. Blümner mentions only one passage, the *Homeric Hymn to Venus*, 12, in which the making of wheeled vehicles is ascribed to the τέκτων.[1] To this is to be added Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 5, 35 f., as well as Plutarch, who is of the opinion that a carpenter would much more gladly make the tablets on which Solon was to carve his laws than a plow or a wagon.[2] Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 88, 8, says that Jesus was called a τέκτων . . . , ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο, ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὤν, ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγά, and the *Gospel of Thomas*, Recension A, XIII, 1, tells how Joseph, as his regular trade, made ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγούς. To these may be added the interesting contract in a Cornell papyrus of 111 B.C., in which an Egyptian carpenter undertakes to make for a Persian a yoke for a wagon and a basket, both of the best workmanship, with appropriate penalties if he fails to do so before a specified date.[3]

One connection in which τέκτονες are frequently mentioned is in the manufacture and repair of arms, and

[1] *Technologie*, Vol. II, p. 324, n. 3; see above, p. 178, n. 2.

[2] *Philos. esse cum princip.*, 4, τεκτονικὸς οὐκ ἂν οὕτω κατασκευάσαι ἄροτρον προθύμως, ἢ ἅμαξαν, ὡς τοὺς ἄξονας οἷς ἔμελλε Σόλων τοὺς νόμους ἐγχαράξειν.

[3] P. Cornell, 4: ὁμολογεῖ Πετῆς Πεατίου τέκτων Ὥρωι Νεχούτου τοῦ Ἀγατρέους Πέρσηι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς εἰ μὴν κατασκεῦσαι ζυγὸν ἁμαξικὸν καὶ κόφινον ἄρεστα ἕως Τῦβι γ̄ τοῦ ζ (ἔτους). ἐὰν δὲ μὴ . . .

here almost always along with two other crafts, *χαλκεῖς*, or *χαλκοτύποι*, and *σκυτεῖς*, or *σκοτοτόμοι*. A phrase in Plato, *Protagoras*, 319 D, *ὁμοίως μὲν τέκτων, ὁμοίως δὲ χαλκεύς, σκυτοτόμος, ἔμπορος, ναύκληρος, πλούσιος, πένης, γενναῖος, ἀγεννής*, is sometimes adduced as evidence that *τέκτων* and *χαλκεύς* were the same, and one translator even renders the two words together as "smith."[1] What the passage really proves is just the opposite. Plato was merely selecting three important callings to represent the *χειροτέχναι*, "manual laborers," echoing the favorite tripartite formula of Socrates.[2] Immediately thereafter he turns to commerce and then to other more strongly contrasted classes in the body politic. The meaning of the whole passage turns upon the naming of as many various groups as possible. In the *Republic*, II, 370 D, he mentions the *ὑφάντης* and the *σκυτοτόμος*, *τέκτονες*, and *χαλκῆς* as among the *δημιουργοί* necessary to the state, beside *βουκόλοι*, *ποιμένες*, *γεωργοί*, and *οἰκοδόμοι*.

Xenophon uses the three words, *τέκτων*, *σκυτεύς*, and *χαλκεύς*, to describe the artisans who are necessary for the manufacture of arms, and, I suppose, of chariots, and for their repair when the army is on the march.[3] Thus wood, leather, and metal are accounted for. In the fine armories of Ephesus two other crafts were also represented, *χαλκοτύποι*, engravers in copper or metal, I suppose, and *ζωγράφοι*, "painters," both for

[1] Lamb in the "Loeb Library," *Plato*, Vol. IV, p. 127.

[2] Xenophon, *Mem.*, I, 2, 37; *ὁ δὲ Κριτίας, Ἀλλὰ τῶνδέ τοί σε ἀπέχεσθαι, ἔφη, δεήσει, ὦ Σώκρατες, τῶν σκυτέων καὶ τῶν τεκτόνων καὶ τῶν χαλκέων· καὶ γὰρ οἶμαι αὐτοὺς ἤδη κατατετρῖφθαι διαθρυλουμένους ὑπὸ σοῦ.* Marchant's translation ("Loeb Library") is certainly wrong.

[3] *Cyrop.*, VI, 2, 37; cf. *Mem.*, IV, 4, 5, and IV, 2, 22, *τὸ χαλκεύειν, τὸ τεκταίνεσθαι, τὸ σκυτεύειν.*

the decoration of arms, and unnecessary when troops were in the field.[1] It appears to me that the two passages from the *Cyropædia* and the *Hellenica* prove decisively that where Xenophon mentions τέκτονες along with σκυτεῖς and χαλκεῖς he does not mean builders. There are two other passages which might be thought to point to the use of the adjective τεκτονικός in the sense of building art in general. In *Œconomicus*, I, 1, Xenophon represents Socrates as comparing ἡ ἰατρικὴ καὶ ἡ χαλκευτικὴ καὶ ἡ τεκτονική with οἰκονομία, and in *Memorabilia*, I, 1, 7, he refers to τεκτονικόν, χαλκευτικόν, γεωργικόν, and ἀρχικόν, as various ἔργα of men. In *Memorabilia*, I, 2, 9, he mentions the κυβερνήτης, τέκτων, and αὐλητής. In these passages it is clear that no exhaustive enumeration of crafts or callings is intended, and there is no reason to suppose that all building operations are included under τεκτονικός or τέκτων. Polybius (X, 20, 6) also mentions three crafts as necessary for an army : τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀκονώντων τε καὶ χαλκευόντων καὶ τεκταινομένων . . . ἁπάντων σπουδαζόντων περὶ τὰς τῶν ὅπλων κατασκευάς. Immediately thereafter he quotes expressly from Xenophon the phrase ἐργαστήριον εἶναι πολέμου, from the *Hellenica*, III, 4, 17. Doubtless he intends under τεκταίνομαι the work of the τέκτων.

The manufacture of arms, however important in the old Greek cities when they were constantly at war and in the Roman Republic, does not appear in the Egyptian papyri. Instead we find τέκτων in connection with a prominent Egyptian industry, the making and repairing of μηχαναί, that is, water-wheels for irrigating. In a British Museum papyrus of 113 A.D., from Arsinoë

[1] *Hellen.*, III, 4, 17.

or Hermoupolis, are the accounts of four commissioners of waterworks. Expenditures include wood for machinery, ll. 175–224, pitch, nails, and similar articles, ll. 225–47, fodder, ll. 248–66, carpenters, ll. 267–76, and solderers, ll. 277–93.[1] In an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of 137 A.D. a vineyard is leased with the provision that for the *μηχανή* the owner shall provide the wood, the renters the pay for the carpenter work. In a Rainer papyrus of 19 A.D. and another of 137 A.D. the same kind of provision is made with regard to oil presses.[2] In a Florentine papyrus of 268 A.D. a carpenter is sent to cut wood for "machines."[3] In an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of 476 A.D. a carpenter supplies part of a water-wheel, and in another of 555 A.D. Paul the carpenter is paid for *μηχαναί*, as the editors here render it, "irrigators."[4] In another Oxyrhynchus papyrus, though the lines are badly broken, carpenters seem to be mentioned in connection with a *μηχανή*, and it is said, *ὁ οἰκοδόμος οἰκοδομεῖ τὴν νοτινὴν πλάτην*.[5]

It is plain enough, therefore, that the carpenter was what we should call a joiner, or cabinet-maker. Indeed I have discovered more references to his work as such, if one include the making of tools and water-wheels, than as builder. In a land such as Egypt or Palestine, where houses were built almost entirely of brick or stone, the carpenter work on a house was reduced to a mini-

[1] P. Lond., III, p. 186, No. 1177, l. 175, *τιμῆς ξύλων εἰς ἐπισκευὰς μηχ(ανῶν)*; ll. 268, *μισθοῦ τεκτόν(ων) . . . ὧν ἐτέλ(εσαν?) τ[ε]κτ[ο]ν[ι]κῶν ἔργων* (l. *οἳ ἐτέλεσαν τεκτονικὸν ἔργον?*); cf. l. 275, *[τεκτ]ονικῶν*.

[2] P. Oxy., 729, 12: *μηχανῆς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κ . . . ας ἔσται τὰ μὲν ξύλα πρὸς τὸν Σαραπίωνα, οἱ δὲ τεκτονικοὶ μισθοὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ τέκτονος σύνταξις πρὸς τοὺς μεμισθομένους*. C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, XXII, p. 46, No. 173, p. 47, No. 177.

[3] P. Flor., II, 152, 4.

[4] P. Oxy., 1899 and 1913.

[5] P. Oxy., 1674, ll. 9 f. and 13.

mum, and the labor of the wood-worker would be largely connected with objects for which clay and stone could never serve. In two cases only have I discovered a definition of carpenters' work as that of a cabinet-maker, or possibly a wood-carver. One is a long partnership contract of December 16, 568 A.D., in which two men of Arsinoë who call themselves *τέκτονες λεπτουργοί*, or occasionally *τέκτονες*, and refer to their craft as *τὴν ἡμῶν τῆς λεπτουγίας τεκτονικὴν τέχνην*, agree, with the customary heaping up of legal verbiage, to work together without quarreling.[1]

Ship-building was an important part of the carpenter's trade, in Homer perhaps his chief business. In the *Iliad*, 5, 59 ff., the warrior Phereclus is son of the Carpenter-Joiner,

> Τέκτονος υἱὸς
> Ἁρμονίδεω, ὃς χερσὶν ἐπίστατο δαίδαλα πάντα
> τεύχειν· ἔξοχα γάρ μιν ἐφίλατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη·
> ὃς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτήνατο νῆας ἐΐσας.

The carpenter, then, is a man of position, beloved of the great goddess and able both to build ships that sail on an even keel and to make other objects of skilled workmanship; that is, he is probably wood-carver, cabinet-maker, and shipwright. In the *Iliad*, 13, 390, the carpenter's work begins with the

> . . . πίτυς βλωθρή, τήν τ' οὔρεσι τέκτονες ἄνδρες
> ἐξέταμον πελέκεσσι νεήκεσσι νήϊον εἶναι.

In the *Iliad*, 15, 410, the carpenter knows how to make planks for ships because he is especially under the

[1] Jean Maspero, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine* (Service des ant. de l'Égypte, Cat. général des ant. égypt. du musée du Caire), Vol. II, Le Caire, 1913, p. 115; No. 67159, ll. 7 f., 10, 12 ff., 17. No. 67160 is a duplicate. On p. 113 is a similar contract.

direction of Athena. In the *Odyssey* there are also various references to his ship-building.[1]

Plato, in *Cratylus*, 390 C, speaks of the τέκτων and ναυπηγός as if they were the same. The τέκτων makes a πηδάλιον under the direction of the κυβερνήτης. Plutarch, following in his master's footsteps, if from afar, has a τέκτων make the πηδάλιον for the flag-ship of Themistocles, while a few lines later a ναυπηγός builds the *Argo*.[2] The next instances I can cite of τέκτων as a shipwright come from the late Aphrodito papyri, where in at least three instances τέκτονες are named in connection with καλαφάται or ναυπηγοί as if they were to work on ships.[3] In this connection it is to be remembered that in one of the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine Kenupi, סגן גבריא, is ordered to attend to ship repairs, and that the *Historia Joachim et Anna*, X, says that Joseph "in Capharnaum maritima erat in opera occupatus; erat enim faber ligni."[4]

One other question remains to be considered, the relation of carpentry to building. There are a few passages which seem to imply that the τέκτων was sometimes also a λιθολόγος, a "mason," or, in general, an οἰκοδόμος, a "builder." But these passages are not numerous, and they are either poetical or capable of other interpretations.[5] Over against them may be placed many passages, from Homer down to Arab times, which mention the carpenter's work on a building

[1] Cf. 9, 126; 19, 56; 21, 44; 17, 384.

[2] *Philos. esse cum princip.*, 4.

[3] P. Lond., IV, Nos. 1391, 31; 1410, 5 and 7; 1336, 3, to build λουφοιων (?).

[4] A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911), No. 8; Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus* (Lipsiæ, 1832), Vol. I, p. 368. Perhaps Jesus built the boats of Peter and Andrew, James and John.

[5] Euripides, *Orestes*, 1570; *Fragmenta Inc.*, 156; Plato, *Laws*, VII, 793 C.

as having to do with wooden parts,[1] or name the *τέκτων* in contrast to the *οἰκοδόμος*.[2] Wood was used where we would not ordinarily think of it, in cities' walls,[3] or in a theater.[4] The papyri refer to work as *λίθινα*, *ξύλινα*, and *πλίνθινα*.[5] A building is described as a *παστοφόριον ᾠκοδομημένον καὶ δεδοκωμένην καὶ τεθυρωμένην*.[6] Wood was used for the roof of the Temple.[7]

Finally it is to be noted that several writers mention wood as the material peculiar to the *τέκτων*. Plato says that Atlantis *καὶ ὅσα ὕλη πρὸς τὰ τεκτόνων διαπονήματα παρέχεται*. Epictetus remarks, *τέκτονος ὕλη τὰ ξύλα, ἀνδριαντοποιοῦ ὁ χαλκός*. Eusebius says, *μηδὲ ἀνδριαντοποιὸς χωρὶς χαλκοῦ τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον ποιῆσαι δύναται, μηδὲ τέκτων χωρὶς ξύλων, μηδὲ οἰκοδόμος χωρὶς λίθων*.[8] It was a varied series of activities in which the carpenter engaged, especially in smaller towns and country places, but it was almost invariably confined to wood.[9]

[1] *Od.*, 21, 43, *οὐδός, σταθμοί, θύραι*; P. Fay, 110, 28; P. Lond., III, 194–97; Maspero, *Pap. gr.*; II, 67141; I, v., l. 30; BGU, III, 962, *θύραι*.

[2] Plato, *Rep.* II, 370 D, E; Josephus, *Ant.*, XI, 78, XV, 390; Plutarch, *De Fortuna*, 4; P. Oxy., 739, 15, 1674, 13; P. Giss., I, 20, 13; BGU, II, 618, II, 8; see also Thucydides, V, 82, 6, VI, 44, 1, VII, 43, 2.

[3] Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1134–59; Xenophon, *Hellen.*, IV, 4, 18; see references to Thucydides above.

[4] Dittenberger, OGIS, 510.

[5] PSI, 496.

[6] P. Grenf., II, 35, 6.

[7] Josephus, *Ant.*, VIII, 145.

[8] Plato, *Critias*, 114 E; Epictetus, *Disc.*, I, 15, 1; Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.*, VII, 20 (334 D); cf. Euripides, *Fragm. Inc.*, 141.

[9] Cf. Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, VIII, 2, 5.

JESUS ON SINS

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JESUS ON SINS

Jesus does not classify sins; he never draws up lists, arranging sins in order like a moralist who analyzes moral offenses in a sequence. But neither does he mention sins at random. It is possible, from two passages in his teaching, to infer what particular offenses he stamped with special emphasis and intensity. The first passage is Mark 7:21–23 (= Matthew 15:19); the second is Mark 10:19 (= Matthew 19:18–19; Luke 18:20).

(*a*) The former is spoken indoors to his disciple. He is explaining how what is inward alone defiles a man, and gives a group of offenses to illustrate his point. *Ἔσωθεν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ διαλογισμοὶ οἱ κακοὶ ἐκπορεύονται.* The spring and source of vice is the inner world of human desires and conceptions, as Jesus invariably taught in his emphasis upon the inwardness of the good life; trace back any vice to its origin, and you will discover it in some wrong or false thought forming itself within the mind. It is the truth put by the author of the *Imitatio Christi* (I, 3): "Nam primo occurrit menti simplex cogitatio, deinde fortis imaginatio, postea delectatio et motus pravus et assensio." This is what is covered by the collective term *διαλογισμοὶ κακοί.*

They take shape in word and deed as follows, in the Marcan tradition:

πορνεῖαι (illicit sexual intercourse between man and woman)

κλοπαί (the eighth commandment)
φόνοι (the sixth commandment)
μοιχεῖαι (illicit sexual intercourse between a man and another man's wife)
πλεονεξίαι (lust, shading off into covetous greed)
πονηρίαι (malice)
δόλος (deceitfulness)
ἀσέλγεια (sensuality or open lasciviousness, in men and women)
ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός (envying others some good which they possess)
βλασφημία (slander or detraction)
ὑπερηφανία (arrogance)
ἀφροσύνη (recklessness, moral insensibility)

The plurals in the first six terms refer to varied and repeated acts,[1] while the singular emphasizes the generic vice. But what is plain as a steeple in a landscape is the stress laid by Jesus on unchastity or sins of the flesh. Three times he comes back to this class of vices. Πορνεία, the broadest term, is sexual vice in general, covering any illicit sexual relation, whether the man or the woman was married or unmarried. Μοιχεία denotes adultery in the original sense of the seventh commandment, *i.e.*, the woman is supposed to be married. As St. Paul usually prefers to use πορνεία and its compounds for sexual vice in general, this juxtaposition of πορνεῖαι and μοιχεῖαι indicates that Mark was not influenced by the apostle in his language; he is reproducing from the Petrine tradition the actual words of Jesus, who specified both classes of the vice.

[1] "Le pluriel . . . exprime plus fortement chaque sorte de péché dans la multiplicité et la variété de ces cas" (Loisy, *Les év. syn.* i. 907).

The Vulgate,[1] which throws μοιχεῖαι next to πορνεῖαι, represents ἀσέλγεια by *impudicitiae*. It is sensuality in a wanton, shameless form; in Hermas (*Simil.*, IX, 15, 2–3) it is opposed to ἁγνεία. Indecency is what Jesus means by the term, and it denoted flagrant misconduct on the part of either sex, the bold impudence which Bunyan describes in Madam Bubble, who appears in the second part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The author of the Wisdom of Solomon groups μοιχεία καὶ ἀσέλγεια as the climax of pagan vices (XIV, 26). Jesus must have noticed it in the Greek towns of Galilee, but it is not distinctively pagan. One might have expected a term like ἀκαθαρσία to have been used here, in view of the context about "defilement"; its non-occurrence is a fresh [2] proof that Mark is not reproducing the Pauline teaching, where πορνεία and ἀκαθαρσία are more than once grouped together (*e.g.*, Galatians 5 : 19; II Corinthians 12 : 21). The special point of ἀσέλγεια is its wantonness. There is no doubt that here as in Galatians 5 : 19 and I Peter 4 : 3 it refers to immoral conduct. Jesus probably chose it as a third term for sins of the flesh, in order to expose the lack of restraint in certain forms of contemporary licentiousness. The word did not carry this meaning necessarily; *e.g.*, in III Maccabees 2 : 26 it retains the sense of violent excess. But in the New Testament [3] it is invariably associated with immorality.

[1] *Adulteria, fornicationes, homicidia, furta.* So the Syriac *Evangelion da Mepharreshe* (I, 195, ed. Burkitt): "adultery, fornication, murder, theft, covetousness, ill-will, guile, lasciviousness."

[2] Another is that he writes ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός instead of φθόνος, an equivalent which was more intelligible to non-Jewish readers (Romans 1 : 29; Galatians 5 : 20).

[3] So in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, where the noun (Judah, XXIII) and the adjective (Levi, XVII) occur.

It may be asked whether this primary position of unchastity is not ultimately due to the well-known order in Codex B of the Septuagint and the Nash Hebrew papyrus, which sets the seventh commandment next to the fifth, probably because unchastity was reckoned a breach of family life; to prohibit unchastity was connected as closely as possible with the prohibition of irreverence toward parents. This may account for the fact that in rapid allusions to the second table of the decalogue unchastity comes often first, as, *e.g.*, in Romans 13 : 9, being ranked in a summary as more heinous than murder or theft. Such a preëminence given to this prohibition may reflect the alternative order, which is probably Egyptian in origin. There was nothing sacrosanct in the exact order of the Ten Words, and the Egyptian sequence may have left this trace upon popular citations even in Palestine. Or the same feeling which produced it (a widespread feeling in Judaism) may have independently thrown up similar sequences. Philo's order is unchastity, murder, theft (*De Decalogo*, XXIV–XXVI); so is St. Paul's in Romans 13 : 9 and Luke's in 18 : 20 (see below). The prevalence of this sequence in some circles of early Christianity may have been the result of the Egyptian decalogue order, or again it may have simply reflected the instinct that unchastity deserved to be mentioned first in order of importance.

What tells at first sight in favor of the former hypothesis is the curious fact that Mark here mentions theft before murder,[1] an order which is only anticipated in Codex B of Exodus 20 : 13–15, where the seventh

[1] The conventional order was soon restored, *e.g.*, in the Latin versions (*homicidia, furta*).

commandment is followed by the eighth and then by the sixth. The reason for this strange sequence in Codex B may be that οὐ μοιχεύσεις as a prohibition of adultery suggested οὐ κλέψεις, since a married woman was the property of her husband (as in the tenth commandment). "In the Mosaic teaching, to commit adultery means simply to have intercourse with a woman belonging to another, in other words, to satisfy one's own instincts to the detriment of the community." [1] Adultery would therefore be a special form of theft. Yet in Deuteronomy 5 : 17–19 unchastity is followed by murder and then by theft in Codex B! So, while in I Corinthians 6 : 10 and Revelation 9 : 21 theft is in the immediate wake of sensuality, as in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (XIII, φόνοι followed by πορνεῖαι, μοιχεῖαι, κλεψίαι), yet in Romans 2 : 21 theft precedes unchastity.[2] Mark's order is not therefore likely to be the reflection of some apostolic code. And neither is it needful to see any subtle significance in κλοπαὶ, φόνοι here. For whether or not πορνεῖαι as an allusion to the seventh commandment suggested the eighth to his mind, Jesus reverts at once from the sixth to the seventh in another aspect, just as elsewhere (see below) in citing the decalogue he mentions murder, adultery, and theft, in that order. The one fact of importance is the deliberate emphasis upon prohibitions of unchastity or sexual vice.

It is sometimes difficult to determine whether πλεονεξία means "covetousness" or "lust" (in the

[1] *The Law and the Prophets* (Westphal and Du Pontet), p. 197.

[2] In the pseudo-Philonic *De Biblicis Antiquitatibus* (XI) the seventh commandment precedes the sixth at one place, and yet at another (XLIV) the order is theft, murder, and adultery. So in Revelation 21 : 8 it is murderers and unchaste persons, in 22 : 15 unchaste persons and murderers.

sensual sense). Here, as it follows μοιχεῖαι, which originally was a violation of a married man's property (as in the tenth commandment), it primarily signifies "lust" rather than simply greed, although there is no need to confine it to the former meaning. As μοιχεῖαι answers loosely to πορνεῖαι, so may πλεονεξίαι to κλοπαί, and even πονηρίαι to φόνοι.

"Malice" represents πονηρίαι as in Matthew 22 : 18; it is wickedness with some evil design upon another person (Acts 3 : 26), and naturally δόλος follows in its immediate wake. "Deceit" is one of the means used by malice. As it happens, the only other use of the term by the synoptic Gospels is in connection with the underhand methods of the authorities during the passion week, as they tried to arrest Jesus (Mark 14 : 1). But the word covers craft of any kind, in word or conduct. The occurrence of the term in the Johannine description of Nathanael as ἀληθῶς Ἰσραηλίτης, ἐν ᾧ δόλος οὐκ ἔστι (1 : 47) has misled critics into thinking that δόλος marks a specifically Jewish vice, a foil to the specifically pagan vice of ἀσέλγεια which follows. Nathanael is indeed hailed as a true Israelite, no shifty son of Jacob.[1] But δόλος was a familiar pagan vice, and Jesus uses it here as a danger of human nature, without any special national reference. It is characteristic of his ethic that he demands a straightforward life, in religion as in every other department of human affairs. Malice did suggest deceit, but deceit is drawn from wider motives than malice, and it is not mentioned here as a specifically national trait.

The other sins are obvious. Envy or jealousy is ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός, a Semitic term for the selfish temper

[1] This sinister sense of a "Jacobite" appears as early as Hosea (see 12 : 7).

of *φθόνος* that grudges another person any good or happiness. This is a mean, ungenerous spirit. But evil-natured people generally go further, and the ugly temper slips into slander or *βλασφημία*, the sin of damaging another person's character by insinuation and innuendo, by imputing wrong motives to them, and so forth. Menander is said to have warned a young man that *πᾶν τὸ λυμαινόμενόν ἐστιν ἔνδοθεν* and to have selected envy as the worst and most defiling of the inward passions (*τὸ κάκιστον τῶν κακῶν πάντων*).[1] One reason is that it leads to more or less open calumny and detraction, and this is the point of *βλασφημία* here; it practically comes under the scope of the ninth commandment, which is not confined to law-courts.

Again there may be people who are too proud or too strong to indulge in slander. Their sin is arrogance, *ὑπερηφανία*. If their position is secure, they do not need to envy[2] others or to malign them, but they are haughty, and that is as bad. Jesus brands this insolent contempt for other people. A later Rabbinic saying, quoted in the *Pirke Aboth* (V. 29), declared that "an evil eye, a boastful soul, and a haughty spirit, mark the disciples of Balaam," as distinguished from the disciples of Abraham.

The last term[3] *ἀφροσύνη* means recklessness, folly in the sense of the Book of Proverbs; such folly is reck-

[1] Kock, *Com. Attic. Fragmenta*, 540.

[2] It is true that envy is associated with contempt in Sirach 14 : 8 : *πονηρὸς ὁ βασκαίνων ὀφθαλμῷ, ἀποστρέφων πρόσωπον καὶ ὑπερορῶν ψυχάς.* But the Latin version justifies the conjecture that *ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ* was the original text, and the context supports this; the envious man is really despising or undervaluing himself.

[3] Its collocation with what precedes is illustrated by the appeal in Clem. Rom., XIII, 1, to lay aside *πᾶσαν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τῦφος καὶ ἀφροσύνη καὶ ὀργάς.*

less, not because it is rash but because it ignores God altogether; it is the careless habit of life which pays no heed to moral sanctions, ignoring anything except its own desires. Hermas (*Sim.*, XI, 22. 2 etc.) contrasts it with *σύνεσις*, and such is its sense here. *Ἀφροσύνη* practically denotes a senseless temper of mind, which leads a man to drive ahead with his life, regardless of duty toward God or man. Defoe describes it in "Robinson Crusoe," when he makes his hero confess: "A certain stupidity of soul, without desire of good or conscience of evil, had entirely overwhelmed me, and I was all that the most hardened, unthinking, wicked creature among our sailors can be supposed to be. When I was on the desperate expedition on the desert shores of Africa, I never had so much as one thought of what would become of me, or one wish to God to direct me whither I should go, or to keep me from the danger which apparently surrounded me." The only place where the adjective occurs in the Gospels is in the story of the wealthy landowner who ignored God as he amassed riches; he is termed *ἄφρων* for all his shrewdness in acquiring property (Luke 12: 20). A similar connotation attaches to the term in Ephesians 5: 17 (*μὴ γίνεσθε ἄφρονες ἀλλὰ συνίετε τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ* Κυρίου).

Matthew reduces and rearranges the list, making *διαλογισμοὶ πονηροί* the first of the vices, instead of the common spring of them all. So the point of the Marcan transcript is missed. Stress is laid also on the mouth, *τὰ δὲ ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος κ.τ.λ.*, and this determines the climax of the short list in *βλασφημίαι*. Matthew's list is: *διαλογισμοὶ πονηροί, φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, βλασφημίαι, i.e.*, a sequence of the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth

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commandments, although strictly speaking only the last two are sins of speech. This is a secondary tradition, in line with the catechetical ethos of Matthew.[1] Murder comes before unchastity, as in 5 : 21 and 27, according to the Massoretic order of the decalogue, which was probably the Palestinian, familiar to Jesus and his hearers. In a summary reference to the decalogue, we may allow, he would follow that sequence. But in the present address to the disciples, where he is freely dealing with moral offenses, he stresses the sins of the flesh, as Mark brings out. And this precedence given to sins of unchastity is not due to the fact that the evangelist is writing for Christians mainly of pagan birth and training, nor to any preference for the Egyptian order of the decalogue; it is not editorial, but the outcome of a deliberate judgment on the part of Jesus himself. He is singling out vices which he regarded as characteristically dangerous. Professor Bacon suggests that if the original occasion was that represented in Luke 11 : 14–41, "the closing items of the list have special bearing against the scribes from Jerusalem."[2] They have a bearing of that kind, even in the present setting of the text. But Jesus is not speaking in public. He is addressing the disciples privately, and it is not needful to suppose that he meant them to understand the closing terms as an implicit criticism of the authorities; he is rather speaking with deliberate weight upon sins common to the human heart. His list is not exhaustive, but it is comprehensive enough for his purpose.

[1] Matthew's editing of Mark at this point is directed toward removing any impression that Jesus was undervaluing the decalogue; he turns the argument against scribal regulations.

[2] *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*, p. 89.

(*b*) The second passage is from the account of an open-air interview between Jesus and an eager inquirer. He is commonly called "the rich young ruler," but he is only a ruler (*ἄρχων*) in Luke, and in Mark his early youth is behind him. At any rate what he wanted, as Professor Burkitt remarks, "was a footing in the New Age." [1] As the law was supposed to insure this eternal life for the obedient, Jesus begins by cross-questioning him on the common ground of belief in the divine commandments. He reminds the inquirer of five or six precepts of the decalogue, choosing them from the second table, since these gave no chance of any self-deception, and also because, in the teaching of Jesus, these were of primary value. From the standpoint of Jesus, for example, it would have been futile to raise the fourth commandment, for a man might observe the Sabbath strictly without being morally the better. And an earnest man like this young Jew was in no danger of polytheism or idolatry. The selection of the commands is therefore partly determined by the particular conditions of the case. But it also raises some points of interest, in connection with the relative importance which Jesus attached to certain sins.

The passage runs in the three traditions thus:

Matthew	Mark	Luke
οὐ φονεύσεις	*μὴ φονεύσῃς*	*μὴ μοιχεύσῃς*
οὐ μοιχεύσεις	*μὴ μοιχεύσῃς*	*μὴ φονεύσῃς*
οὐ κλέψεις	*μὴ κλέψῃς*	*μὴ κλέψῃς*
οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις	*μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς*	*μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς*
	μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς	
τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου	*τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου*	*τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου*
καὶ τὴν μητέρα	*καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου*	*καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου*
καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν		
πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν		

[1] *Zeitschrift für neutest. Wissenschaft* (1911), p. 230.

Here the problem is complicated by two early forms of the Marcan text, which preserve both orders of the decalogue. One reads *οὐ μοιχεύσῃς, οὐ φονεύσῃς, κ.τ.λ.* But on textual and intrinsic grounds the "murder, adultery" sequence is on the whole to be preferred, as in ℵ, B, C, Δ, the Sinaitic Syriac, the Sahidic and the Coptic versions, etc. Codex Bezæ and the Old Latin Codex Bobiensis have some slight support in omitting *μὴ φονεύσῃς* (*vielleicht mit Recht*, Wellhausen observes strangely) and adding *μὴ πορνεύσῃς*. But the latter addition is the emendation of editors who thought that *μοιχεύσῃς* required to be completed, whereas it includes *πορνεία* here. The present passage differs from the previous one. Jesus is reciting to the young man five or six commands of the law which are *clairs, incisifs, propices à un rapide examen de conscience* (Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Marc*, p. 249), and he enumerates them in the order familiar to any one brought up in strict Jewish piety (see above). Tatian's *Diatessaron* has adultery, theft, and murder, in that order.

It is more certain that *μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς* is original, and that it has been wrongly omitted by B* ψ, the Sinaitic Syriac and the Armenian versions, etc., in order to harmonize the text with Matthew and Luke (as equally characteristic words are omitted in 14 : 68). "Do not defraud" covers a wide range of offenses. If the man was a landowner, it would be specially appropriate to the sin of withholding payment of wages to his slaves and laborers, against which there is a warning in Sirach 4 : 1, Malachi 3 : 5, and in James 5 : 4: *ἰδού, ὁ μισθὸς τῶν ἐργατῶν τῶν ἀμησάντων τὰς χώρας ὑμῶν ὁ ἀπεστερημένος*. In Mark and Matthew the youth is described as

one *ἔχων κτήματα πολλά*, and Clement of Alexandria adds *καὶ ἀγρούς*, to make it clear that he was a landowner. But fraud (*ne fraudem feceris*) had wider ramifications, and may be used here in a general sense. The Christians of Bithynia, according to Pliny (*Epp.*, X, 96) took a solemn oath *ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositi appellati abnegarent*,[1] and Hermas begins a list of sins from which the servant of God must abstain, by mentioning *κλέμμα, ψεῦδος, ἀποστέρησις, ψευδομαρτυρία, πλεονεξία, ἐπιθυμία πονηρά, ἀπατή κ.τ.λ.* (*Mand.*, VIII, 5). It has even been argued [2] that we require some basis in the Gospels to account for "the emphasis laid on this point in early Christian ethics. And the only passage in the Gospels to which we can refer it is this passage in St. Mark." However this may be, the tendency to omit it seems more likely than the tendency to insert it in the text. The prohibition has all the marks of authenticity, just as the addition [3] of *καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν* by Matthew is a secondary catechetical touch, intended to lead up to the demand for renunciation of property.[4] Matthew

[1] This broader sense of *ἀποστερεῖν* as the repudiation of responsibility for some property deposited with one for safe-keeping till the owner returned, was common in the Greek and Roman world. It might be argued that Mark inserted *μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς* because this form of dishonesty was familiar to his readers, who were Christians of pagan birth and training. But probably he retained it, just on that account. It meant more than it may have done to the man whom Jesus originally addressed.

[2] C. H. Turner, *The Study of the New Testament*, p. 60.

[3] As Origen felt (*οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐνταῦθα παρειλῆφθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπό τινος τὴν ἀκρίβειαν μὴ νοήσαντος τῶν λεγομένων προστεθεῖσθαι*).

[4] In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which has some obscure connection with the gospel of Matthew or its sources, this is the only reference to the law. Jesus tells the rich man: "Quoniam scriptum est in lege, diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum, et ecce multi fratres tui, filii Abrahæ, amicti sunt stercore, morientes præ fame, et domus tua plena est multis bonis, et non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos."

meant it as a positive equivalent for μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς. But the latter is obviously more apt and pointed. "It appears not to be original," Mr. Montefiore remarks; "it is perhaps specially introduced as suitable for a rich person." [1] Precisely. But why should not Jesus have introduced it into his talk? It is thoroughly in keeping with the situation, and a historical estimate which has any psychological insight should recognize that the words might well have occurred to Jesus long before they would have dawned on the mind of some later scribe, who suddenly bethought him of οὐκ ἀποστερήσεις in Codex A of Deuteronomy 24 : 14.

[1] *The Synoptic Gospels*, I, 247.

JESUS UND DER GEIST NACH SYNOPTISCHER ÜBERLIEFERUNG

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Die synoptische Lehre Jesu ist in weitem Umfange praemessianisch und praechristlich. Die zentralen Gedanken sind: das Reich, das kommen soll und auf dessen baldige Erscheinung man sich vorbereiten soll, und die richtige Haltung gegenüber Gott und dem Nächsten. Die messianische Erlösung liegt in der Zukunft. Die Predigt von Gott, seiner Gnade und seiner Forderung an uns ist nichts anderes als erneuerter und vertiefter Profetismus. Das ganze ist ein geläutertes und radicalisiertes Judentum.[1]

Nun gibt es natürlich in allen drei synoptischen Evangelien auch messianische und "christliche" Elemente: messianische Heilssprüche, die für die Gegenwart gelten; Taten und Worte, durch die sich Jesus schon für die Gegenwart als Messias erweist; Worte, die dem christlichen Erlösungsglauben entsprechen. Aber sie stimmen nicht recht zu dem Corpus der synoptischen Tradition, ihre Echtheit ist problematisch und die Beweislast liegt dem ob, der ihre Ursprünglichkeit vertritt, wie denn umgekehrt der vorchristliche Charakter der synoptischen Uberlieferungsmasse a priori den Eindruck erweckt, dass hier vertrauenswürdige Tradition enthalten ist.

[1] Vgl. hierzu vor allem R. Bultmann, *Jesus* (1926). Mit Recht erklärt B. W. Bacon in seinem anregenden Buche: *The Apostolic Message* (1925), p. 341: *modern interpreters are too prone to forget that Jesus was not a missionary of Christianity.*

Zu den problematischen Grössen der synoptischen Tradition gehört auch der Geist.

In seinem interessanten Buche, *The Apostolic Message* (1925), eignet sich B. W. Bacon die These von J. Royce an: The article of the Holy Spirit . . . is the really distinctive and therefore the capital article of the Christian creed. From the very start Christianity was "a religion of the Spirit." [1] Das ist richtig, wenn man unter Christentum das apostolische, insbesondere das paulinische Christentum versteht. Auch für Lucas wird man die Charakteristik gelten lassen. Für Johannes (Evangelium und Briefe) gilt sie nur mit Einschränkung. Für die Jacobusepistel möchte ich sie trotz der geistvollen Ausführungen von Bacon [2] nur in ganz bescheidenem Masse anerkennen.

Wie steht es mit der Synopse, der "Jacobus" doch so nahe steht! Schon ein Blick in die Concordanz lehrt uns, dass der heilige Geist dort in der Tat ausserordentlich selten vorkommt. Bei *Marcus* findet er sich nur in dem messianischen Worte des Täufers 1 : 8; in der Taufgeschichte und in der Einleitung zur Versuchung 1 : 10, 12 und in zwei Logien: in der Warnung vor der Lästerung des heiligen Geistes 3 : 29 und in der Verheissung an die Jünger 13 : 11.[3] In *Matthaeus* kommen, abgesehen von der pneumatischen Geburt 1 : 18, 20 nur drei Worte hinzu: das Wort vom Exorzismus durch den Geist 12 : 28; ein zweites Logion über die Lästerung des

[1] L. c. p. 79, 297. Der Artikel von J. Royce, "What Is Vital to Christianity" findet sich in *William James and other Essays*, p. 140.

[2] "The Gift of the Spirit in 'James,'" l. c., pp. 148 ff.

[3] Mc. 2 : 8 ist kaum der heilige Geist gemeint; sicher ist 14 : 38 (πνεῦμα) der menschliche Geist: gegen F. Büchsel, *Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament*, pp. 180 ff., dessen ganze Deutung der Gethsemanegeschichte ich ablehnen muss. Mc. 12 : 36 (David hat im Geist gesprochen) bezieht sich nicht auf Jesus.

Geistes 12 : 32 und der trinitarische Taufbefehl 28 : 19. *Lucas* hat abgesehen von den Geburtsgeschichten (wo der Täufer als Pneumatiker bezeichnet 1 : 15, 17, und die pneumatische Geburt Jesu gelehrt wird 1 : 35; wo Elisabeth und Zacharias in pneumatische Erregung geraten 1 : 41, 67, und uns Symeon als Pneumatiker vorgeführt wird 2 : 25–27), nur noch wenig neues gegenüber Marcus: das zweite Wort von der Lästerung, das somit aus Q stammt 12 : 10; die Bitte um den Geist 11 : 13; eine Variante zu dem Jüngerspruch 12 : 12; den pneumatischen Spruch Jes. 61 : 1, den er Jesus vorlesen lässt 4 : 18;[1] endlich zwei Hinweise (des Evangelisten) auf pneumatische Erregungen Jesu 4 : 14 und 10 : 21.[2]

Dieser synoptische Befund ist ausserordentlich dürftig. Der erste Eindruck ist: der Geist hat in dem Auftreten Jesu und in seiner Verkündigung eine sehr geringe Rolle gespielt. Die synoptische Tradition lehrt zwar eine wunderbare Salbung Jesu mit dem Geist vor Beginn seiner Wirksamkeit, eine spätere Schicht seine Geburt aus dem Geist, aber nur ganz selten (Mc. nur einmal) erklärt sie das Geschehen aus der Einwirkung des Geistes. Nur in den Worten von der Lästerung lassen die Synoptiker Jesus auf den Geist hinweisen, der in ihm ist, die Verheissung des Geistes an die Jünger bezieht sich lediglich auf das Zeugnis, das sie vor Gericht ablegen müssen. Die ganze apostolische Lehre vom Geist, der zu Pfingsten

[1] Die Erwähnung des Geistes in Lc. 9 : 55 ist textkritisch unsicher und meint auch nicht den heiligen Geist.

[2] In seiner Wiedergabe des Spruches in der apokalyptischen Rede 21 : 15 hat Lucas den Geist getilgt und den erhöhten Christus an dessen Stelle gesetzt. Gemeint ist der Geist auch in der Verheissung des Auferstandenen 24 : 49. Das neue Buch von H. von Baer, *Der heilige Geist in den Lucasschriften* (1926) konnte ich noch nicht benutzen.

über die Jünger kam als Gabe des erhöhten Christus, und der durch die Taufe empfangen wird und das christliche Leben in seiner ganzen Breite und Tiefe leitet, ist der synoptischen Überlieferung eigentlich fremd. Nur in dem Täuferwort Mc. 1 : 8 Par., in der Fassung des Jüngerspruchs Mt. 10 : 20, in dem sicher secundären Wort vom Bitten um den Geist Lc. 11 : 13 und in dem post-historischen Taufbefehl Mt. 28 : 19 sind Hinweise auf die Geisterfahrung der apostolischen Gemeinde enthalten.[1]

Gewiss liegen in den wenigen über die Evangelien hin verstreuten Pneumastellen die Elemente einer sehr bestimmten Interpretation der Erscheinung Jesu vor. Jesus ist darnach derjenige, in dem die profetischen Weissagungen von einem geistesmächtigen Zeugen, Helfer und Heilande ihre Realisierung gefunden haben. In grossen Manifestationen ist der Geist über ihn gekommen, erst bei der Geburt, dann bei der Taufe; kraft dieses Geistes hat er gewirkt, durch ihn ist er für die Menschen eine numinöse Erscheinung geworden, wenn auch der Geist noch von ihm unterschieden wird als eine göttliche Kraft, die über ihm steht. Schliesslich hat er eine Inspiration mit diesem Geiste auch seinen Jüngern in Aussicht gestellt. Aber diese Combination ist das Werk des auf Systematisierung ausgehenden theologischen Interpreten. In den Evangelien liegen die Elemente isoliert vor uns, und es fragt sich, ob solche Zusammenschau durch den Bestand der Überlieferung gerechtfertigt ist. Wir haben es zunächst mit Einzelworten und Einzelgeschichten zu tun, die jedes für sich der Kritik unterworfen werden müssen, und

[1] Auch die Verheissung Lc. 24 : 49, die sich auf Pfingsten bezieht, ist post-historisch — unecht.

der spärliche Befund regt sicher die Frage an, ob nicht der ganze Bestand an Hinweisen auf das Pneuma erst in der apostolischen Gemeinde in die Überlieferung von Jesus hineingefügt worden ist.[1]

Eine radicale *Ent-pneumatisierung* der Synopse scheint in der Tat wohl durchführbar.

Wir haben schon gesehen, dass verschiedene Pneumastellen sicher erst der die Worte und Erinnerungen ausschmückenden, interpretierenden und ergänzenden Tradition und Redaction der Evangelien zuzuschreiben sind. Dahin gehören die Geschichten von der Geburt und von der Belehrung des Auferstandenen, weiter das ganze Sondergut des Lucas: seine Beschreibung Jesu als Pneumatiker 4 : 14; 10 : 21 (cf. Act 10 : 38), vermutlich auch die Vorlesung des Jesaiatextes 4 : 18 — dass Jesus der mit Geist gesalbte Knecht des Herrn ist, ist ein Gedanke der lucanischen Christologie, cf. Act 10 : 38 — sicher auch die Aufforderung zur Bitte um den Geist 11 : 13, ein schönes Beispiel der "Christianisierung" eines ursprünglich vorchristlichen Spruches, cf. Mt. 7 : 11.[2]

Die Frage ist, ob etwa auch der restierende Bestand solcher Christianisierung oder Transfiguration zuzuschreiben ist, also: das Täuferwort, das Auftreten des Geistes bei der Taufe und Versuchung, das Logion vom pneumatischen Exorcismus, die Worte von der

[1] Solche radicale Anzweiflung der gesamten synoptischen Überlieferung vom Pneuma liegt u. a. vor bei H. Weinel, *Biblische Theologie des N. T.*, 3. Aufl. (1921), p. 69; vor allem bei H. Leisegang, *Der Ursprung des Geistbegriffs der synoptischen Evangelien aus der griechischen Mystik* (1922).

[2] Mindestens im 2. Jhrt. (Marcion) hat man den Geist auch in das Vaterunser hineingebracht, s. A. v. Harnack, *Erforschtes und Erlebtes* (1923), pp. 24 ff. Auch dieser Einsatz ist eine Christianisierung; von Haus aus ist das Vaterunser ein ausgesprochen vormessianischer und vorchristlicher Text.

Lästerung des Geistes und die Verheissung an die Jünger.[1]

Das Täuferwort liegt uns in doppelter Fassung vor:

βαπτίσει . . . . ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (Mc.);
βαπτίσει . . . . ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί (Mt., Lc.).

In beiden Fassungen bezieht sich der Spruch nicht auf den geschichtlichen Jesus, sondern auf den Christus der apostolischen Gemeinde, den Christus von Pfingsten oder den Christus der Parusie. Er bestätigt somit in jedem Falle die unpneumatische Art der Geschichte Jesu. Der Verdacht, dass das Wort erst christlichen Ursprungs ist, liegt nahe. Die Vorstellung vom Messias als Geistestäufer ist eine originelle, hier zum ersten Mal auftretende Synthese der Idee vom Messias als Träger des Geistes (Jes. 11 und 61) und der Profetie von einer allgemeinen Ausgiessung des Geistes (Joel 3). Man möchte diese Combination erst der christlichen Gemeinde zuschreiben (cf. Act 19 : 2 ff.).

Die synoptische Vergleichung lässt übrigens auch die Möglichkeit zu, dass die Urform des Spruches lautete: *βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς ἐν πυρί.* Diese Urform kann ein echtes Täuferwort sein; sie bezog sich ausschliesslich auf den Christus-Menschensohn, der zum Gerichte kommt; cf. Mt. 3 : 12. Dann wäre *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* als christianisierende Interpolation erkannt.[2]

[1] Das folgende ist im wesentlichen (stillschweigende) Auseinandersetzung mit den lezten, conservativ gestimmten Behandlungen des Themas bei A. Frövig, *Das Sendungsbewusstsein Jesu und der Geist* [Beiträge zur Förd. christl. Theol. 29, 3] (1924), und F. Büchsel, *Der Geist Gottes im N. T.* (1926). Vgl. auch Denney, "The Holy Spirit," Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, I, 731 ff.

[2] Vgl. hierzu M. Dibelius, *Die urchristl. Überlieferung von Johannes dem Täufer* (1911), pp. 55 ff.; H. Leisegang, a. a. O., pp. 22 ff. Zu dem Gegensatz "Wasser-Feuer," vgl. II Peter 3 : 5–7; Num. 31 : 23; dazu Sanhedr. 93*a* (Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N. T.*, I, 121 f.).

Sehr leicht ist auch die *Taufgeschichte* als eine christliche Sagenbildung zu erweisen.[1] Von drei Seiten her kann sie angeregt sein. (1) Ist sie als Historisierung der beiden Zeugnisse vom gesalbten Gottesknecht (Jes. 42 : 1 ff. = Mt. 12 : 18–21 und Jes. 61 : 1 ff. = Lc. 4 : 17–19) aufzufassen,[2] in denen die essentiellen Motive der Taufe Jesu bereits aufgeführt sind: die Salbung mit dem Geiste, die Proclamation des Knechtes und Geliebten aus Gottes Mund. (2) Weist auch die ausserbibliche Mythologie belangreiche Analogien auf, so die Erscheinung eines Vogels zur Kundgebung des Erwählten und zur Vermittlung der Zeugung[3] und die Proclamation eines Königs durch den göttlichen Vater u.a.m.[4] (3) Kann auch der Typus der christlichen Taufe hier hineinspielen — Taufe, Wasser, Geist, Neugeburt, Gotteskindschaft sind auch die tragenden Ideen der Christentaufe, vgl. Rom. 8 : 15; Gal. 4 : 6; Tit. 3 : 5; Joh 3 : 5[5] — und die Taufe Jesu ist als Paradigma und als Initiation der allgemeinen Christentaufe zu verstehen: Jesus der erste Christ, der getauft ward.[6]

[1] Vgl. Frövig, pp. 189 ff., der diese Kritik freilich bestreitet.

[2] Es ist das Verdienst von B. W. Bacon, auf die Beziehungen der Taufgeschichte zu den Jes.-Texten aufmerksam gemacht zu haben; s. *Apostolic Message*, pp. 285 ff.

[3] Vgl. H. Gressmann, "Die Sage von der Taufe Jesu und die vorderasiatische Taubengöttin," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1921); N. Söderblom, *Das Werden des Gottesglaubens*, 2. Aufl. (1926), pp. 257.

[4] Eine interessante Parallele ist die Begrüssung Alexanders durch den Profeten Amon's bei Plutarch, *Vita Alex.* c. 27. S. zum ganzen noch R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (1921), p. 153 f.; C. Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N. T.* (1924), pp. 122 ff.

[5] Die Erklärungen des Paulus (Rom. 8 : 15; Gal. 4 : 6) und die synoptische Geschichte ergänzen einander; diese stellt die göttliche Manifestation dar: Du bist mein Sohn! jene die Antwort des neugeborenen Sohnes: Abba, Vater!

[6] Bei Lucas (3 : 21) kommt noch das der Taufe vorangehende Gebet hinzu.

In der *Versuchungsgeschichte* hat der Geist nur die Bedeutung, dass er Jesus, den eben getauften Gottessohn, in die Wüste treibt Mc. 1 : 12; Mt. 4 : 1; Lc. 4 : 1. Weiter geht sein Einfluss nicht. Keineswegs ist die Leistung Jesu eine pneumatische. Nicht sein Geistbesitz, sondern seine Gottessohnschaft steht auf dem Spiele.[1] Seine Haltung ist die des Sohnes, besser die vorbildliche Haltung des Gotteskindes, des Frommen, der gehorsam seine Weisungen aus der Schrift nimmt. Die Versuchung ist ein Kampf mit Schriftworten. Die ganze Geschichte hat mythischen Charakter. Die Einleitung ist die einzige Stelle in der älteren Uberlieferungsschicht, wo Jesus unter dem unwiderstehlichen Impuls des Geistes entführt wird, wie wir das von Ezechiel und von anderen Profeten lesen (Ez. 2 : 2; 3 : 14; 11 : 24).[2]

So sind nur noch die drei Worte zu untersuchen, in denen Jesus selbst vom Pneuma zeugt, die einzigen Stellen, aus denen eine "Lehre Jesu vom Geist" entwickelt werden könnte.

Das Wort vom *Austreiben der Dämonen durch Gottes Geist* Mt. 12 : 28 gilt als eines der echtesten Worte Jesu.[3] Es scheint von weittragender Bedeutung. Jesus schreibt seine Macht über die Dämonen dem Geiste Gottes zu, der in ihm ist, und folgert daraus die beginnende Manifestation des Reiches Gottes. Jeder Sieg über einen Dämon bringt die Herrschaft

[1] Dies gegen F. Büchsel, a. a. O., pp. 171 ff.; s. noch A. Meyer, "Die Versuchung Jesu," *Festschrift für A. Blümner* (1919); O. Holtzmann, *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* (1903), pp. 44, 49; M. Albertz, *Die synoptischen Streitgespräche* (1921), pp. 41 ff.

[2] Vgl. Lc. 4 : 14, Evgl. sec. Hebr. (nach Origenes und Hieronymus).

[3] Doch vgl. A. Loisy, *L'Evangile selon Luc* (1924), p. 323; A. v. Gall, *Basileia tou Theou* (1926), p. 473 f.

Gottes einen Schritt näher, und wenn der Geist in Funktion ist, dann ist die messianische Heilszeit vor der Tür. Jesus gibt sich damit kund als Träger des Geistes, als den mit Geist gesalbten Messias, messianischen Profeten (Jes. 61 : 1 ff.; 11 : 1 ff.), der das Reich Gottes auf Erden aufrichten hilft. Er tauft zwar nicht mit dem Geist, aber exorcisiert mit ihm.

Leider bietet auch dieser Spruch der Kritik einige Handhaben. Ich will mich hier nicht auf Mt. 12 : 27 = Lc. 11 : 19 berufen, wo Jesus anerkennt, dass auch die Rabbinenschüler Dämonen austreiben durch eine übernatürliche Macht, die nicht Beelzebub sein kann. Dieser Spruch schränkt nur die Singularität der Macht Jesu ein, nicht ihren pneumatischen Charakter. Wichtiger ist die Frage, ob denn wohl das πνεύματι in unserem Spruche ursprünglich ist. H. Leisegang[1] hat die interessante Vermutung gewagt, das im Exorcismus ganz singuläre ἐν πνεύματι sei für das der jüdischen Überlieferung und der christlichen Praxis mehr entsprechende ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ eingesetzt. In der Tat ist der Gebrauch eines Namens im Judentum und im Urchristentum das übliche Mittel des Exorzismus. Dass die pharisäischen Exorzisten, die Mt. 12 : 27 gemeint sind, den Namen Gottes gebrauchten, ist glaubhafter, als dass sie sich auf den Geist beriefen. Dass Jesus ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ die Dämonen überwältigt, kann also wieder christlicher Sprachgebrauch sein, wie er vor allem Act 10 : 38 deutlich vorliegt. Die Verbindung von "Name" und "Reich" ist noch ungesuchter als die von "Geist" und "Reich," denn sie findet sich schon im Vaterunser (die von Geist und Reich ist wieder "christlich," vgl. Rom. 14 : 17).

[1] A. a. O., pp. 98 ff.

Das Missliche dieser Hypothese ist, dass sie mit Worten operiert, die nicht dastehen.[1] Das ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ wird indes auch noch durch ein überliefertes Textwort bedroht, die Wendung ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ, die Lucas in dem parallelen Logion aufweist 11 : 30. Was sie bedeutet, ist aus Ex. 8 : 19 und Ps. 8 : 4 zu ersehen : die Zauberer erkennen in den überlegenen Wundertaten des Moses den "Finger Gottes," der Psalmist lehrt, dass die Himmel "Werke seines Fingers" sind. Jesus verfügt dann also über den mächtigen Finger Gottes; er ist ein zweiter Moses. Wie die Schöpfung durch den Finger Gottes entstanden ist, so kommt auch das Reich Gottes, die messianische Neuschöpfung aller Dinge, durch ihn. Der Finger Gottes passt also ebensogut wie der Geist und der Name.[2]

Was ist nun ursprünglich? Die meisten Exegeten halten Lc. für secundär und berufen sich auf Lucas' Vorliebe für archaistische, anthropomorphe Ausdrücke (er spricht auch vom Arme und von der Hand Gottes 1 : 51, 66).[3] Dem steht aber entgegen, dass Lc. hier einen alttestamentlich gefärbten Ausdruck an die Stelle eines mehr christlich gearteten eingesetzt haben würde, während er sonst mehr die Neigung hat, die Beweise pneumatischen Auftretens Jesu zu vermehren, als zu vermindern.[4] Die Ursprünglichkeit von ἐν δακτύλῳ hat meines Erachtens grössere Wahrscheinlichkeit, als man sonst annimmt.

In den selben Zusammenhang wie das eben besprochene Logion hat Mt. noch zwei Sprüche über die *Lästerung des heiligen Geistes* eingestellt, 12 : 31, 32.

[1] Vgl. die Kritik von A. Frövig, a. a. O., p. 154 f., 172 f.
[2] Zum rabbinischen Sprachgebrauch vgl. Strack-Billerbeck, I. 559.
[3] Vgl. A. Frövig, p. 153.
[4] Ein treffendes Beispiel geht kurz vorher: 11 : 13.

Spruch (*a*) erklärt die Lästerung des Geistes für die einzige Sünde und Lästerung, die unvergebbar ist; Spruch (*b*) stellt sie der Beleidigung des Menschensohns gegenüber, die noch vergebbar ist. Spruch (*a*) hat seine Parallele in Mc. 3 : 28 f., im gleichen Zusammenhang (doch ist auch (*b*) nach Mc. stilisiert); Spruch (*b*) hat seine Parallele in Lc. 12 : 10, wo sie aber in die Jüngerrede und zwar sehr passend zwischen zwei ganz ähnlichen und ähnlich gebauten Entscheidungen (12 : 8 f.) und dem Jüngerspruch über das πνεῦμα eingefügt ist. Wir haben es also mit zwei Einzelsprüchen zu tun, wovon der eine zuerst in Mc., der andere zuerst in Q schriftlich fixiert worden ist. Die ursprüngliche Beziehung ist durch die Überlieferung nicht zwingend gegeben. Leisegang vermutet auch hier, dass das πνεῦμα sich an die Stelle des ὄνομα θεοῦ gesetzt hat, und beruft sich hierfür auf Lev. 24 : 15 f.: "Wer irgend seinem Gotte flucht, der lädt Sünde auf sich; und wer den *Namen Jahwe's lästert*, soll mit dem Tode bestraft werden." [1] Dazu kann man auch rabbinische Aussprüche über die Lästerung oder Unsühnbarkeit der Entheiligung des Namens stellen, z. B. den Spruch Aboth R. Nathan, 39, wo die Entheiligung des göttlichen *Namens* eine der fünf unvergebbaren Sünden darstellt.[2] Wenn in Mt. 12 : 28 ursprünglich der "Name Gottes" stand, *kann* er auch hier ursprünglich gestanden haben. Für Spruch (*a*) ist die Möglichkeit dieser Textconjectur grösser als für Spruch (*b*), da "Menschensohn — Geist" eine greifbarere Antithese darstellen als "Menschensohn — Name."

[1] Übersetzung von Kautzsch. Der Parallelismus des Spruches ist wohl ursprünglich ein synonymer; warscheinlich hat man ihn später als einen antithetischen verstanden: das Fluchen ist sühnbar, das Lästeren nicht. Dann wäre die Form ganz der der synoptischen Sprüche analog.

[2] S. dazu Strack-Billerbeck, I, 636 f.

Aber auch wenn man von der Hypothese Leisegang's absieht, lassen sich Bedenken gegen die Echtheit der zwei Sprüche geltend machen. Zunächst ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass sie Varianten sind und dass dann Spruch (*a*) die ursprüngliche Fassung darstellt. Man kann freilich einwenden, dass es nicht sehr wahrscheinlich ist, dass ein Apostel oder Lehrer der Gemeinde die Beleidigung des Menschensohns für vergebbar erklärt haben sollte. Aber man hat ja Jesus auch die herrliche Fürbitte für seine Feinde am Kreuze Lc. 23 : 34 in den Mund gelegt. Auffallend bleibt dann noch die Unterordnung Jesu unter den Geist, die gern als ein Zeichen der Echtheit des Wortes geltend gemacht wird.[1] Aber man übersehe nicht, dass im Hintergrund doch eine, allerdings sehr eigenartige Trinität steht: Gott, Geist, Menschensohn, dass der Menschensohn also in die göttliche Sphäre erhoben erscheint und dass die Vorordnung des Geistes keineswegs so unbegreiflich ist. Auch in der Tauf- und in der Geburtsgeschichte, wo offenbar die Trinität vorliegt: Vater, Geist, Sohn, hat man die gleiche Subordination Jesu.[2]

Es kommt weiter hinzu, dass alle Sprüche, in denen eine Lehre über den Menschensohn = Jesus gegeben wird, dem Verdacht unterliegen, dass sie ihre Formung erst dem Kreise der apostolischen Lehrer verdanken. Die Vermutung Wellhausen's,[3] dass das 'gegen den Menschensohn' secundäre Variante (Übersetzungsfehler oder absichtliche Änderung) zu "den Menschen-

[1] Vgl. Frövig, a. a. O., p. 175.

[2] Hier schwebt wohl die Trinität: Vater-Mutter-Sohn vor, vgl. Leisegang, a. a. O., p. 86; D. Nielsen, *Der dreieinige Gott* (1922). Übrigens kennt die Synopse noch eine andere "Trinität": Vater, Sohn und Engel, cf. Mc. 8 : 38; 13 : 32; Lc. 9 : 26.

[3] *Evang. Matth.*, p. 62.

söhnen," bezw. "dem Menschensohn" (Spruch (*a*)) ist, scheint mir sehr erwägenswert.

Schliesslich lässt sich das Wort seiner ganzen Form nach sehr gut als eine Jüngerentscheidung verstehen: es ist ja nichts anderes als die Anwendung der Vollmacht, zu binden und zu lösen, die nach Mt. 16 : 18 f, jedenfalls von oder für Petrus, nach Joh. 20 : 22 f. für alle Apostel beansprucht worden ist.

Kraft der selben Vollmacht *kann* natürlich auch Spruch (*a*) von einem apostolischen Pneumatiker geformt worden sein. Er wäre dann ganz universell auf alle Träger des Geistes in der Gemeinde zu beziehen; vgl. Didache 11 : 7.

Die *Verheissung des Geistes an die Jünger*, die nun allein noch zu untersuchen ist, ist bei Lucas, wie schon oben angedeutet, an den Spruch über die Lästerung des Geistes angeschlossen. Er wiederholt ihn noch einmal, aber in einem Wortlaut, der an Stelle des Geistes den erhöhten Christus zum Parakleten macht, in der apokalyptischen Rede 21 : 14 f. An dieser Stelle hat ihn auch Marcus (13 : 11), während Mt. ihn schon in seiner Jüngerrede bringt (10 : 19 f.), und zwar in der selben Umgebung wie bei Mc. Es ist möglich, das Lc. den Spruch auch in Q fand, doch ist hier diese Folgerung nicht sicher.

Ist dieser Spruch und die Erwähnung des Geistes in ihm ursprünglich? Aus der Ausmerzung des Geistes in Lc. 21 : 15 möchte ich hier keine Schlüsse ziehen, da hier offenbar eine secundäre Fassung vorliegt und auch sonst Stiliserung des dritten Evangelisten unverkennbar ist.[1] Die ursprüngliche Fassung liegt sicher in Mc. vor, insofern da am deutlichsten gelehrt ist, dass der

[1] Vgl. Act 6 : 10.

Geist nur für jene Stunde dargereicht wird, dass also jede Beziehung auf die Pfingstgeschichte oder auf die paulinische Vorstellung vom Geiste ausgeschlossen ist, wogegen aus Lc. 21 : 12 (trotz der Zufügung "zur selben Stunde") gefolgert werden *kann*, dass der Geist auch sonst die Jünger "belehren" wird,[1] und analog aus Mt. 10 : 20, dass der Geist ihres Vaters ständig oder wenigstens auch bei anderen Gelegenheiten "in ihnen spricht."

Aber auch diese ursprüngliche Fassung in Mc. *kann* als apostolischer Lehrspruch (als *vaticinium ex eventu*) verstanden werden: die herrliche Erfahrung der Apostel, dieser *ἄνδρες ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται*, dass zu der "Stunde," wo sie vor dem Sanhedrin von ihrem Herrn zu zeugen gezwungen wurden, eine Inspiration über sie kam und sie Worte reden konnten, die sonst nicht über ihre Lippen kamen, *kann* in diesem Worte ihren Niederschlag gefunden haben, zur Ermutigung aller nach ihnen kommenden Zeugen.[2]

Damit ist das letzte Pneumawort der Synopse der christlichen Interpretation zugewiesen und gezeigt, dass eine vollständige Elimination der Pneumavorstellung aus der primären Traditionsschicht möglich ist. Die ganze Vorstellung vom Pneuma, das über Jesus gekommen, in seinen Taten sich auswirkt und von ihm auch seinen Jüngern verheissen ist, *kann* als apostolisches Gedankengut angesehen werden. Dass Jesus ein pneumatisches Bewusstsein besessen habe, ist dann

[1] Vgl. die Parallele im zweiten Parakletspruche Joh. 14 : 26 und dazu meinen Artikel, "Die fünf johanneischen Parakletsprüche" in der *Festgabe für A. Jülicher* (1927).

[2] Vgl. H. Weinel, *Biblische Theologie des N. T.*, 3. Aufl. (1921), p. 69. Leisegangs Deutung unseres Spruches auf Glossolalie (a. a. O., pp. 112 ff.) ist abzulehnen.

nicht historische Überlieferung. Die Erzählung, wonach der Geist bei der Taufe über ihn gekommen und dort seine Adoption zum Sohne Gottes vermittelt habe, wäre eben so Legende wie die Geburtsgeschichte die diese Wirkung bei seiner Empfängnis eintreten lässt. In das Wort vom Gekommensein der βασιλεία hätte Mt. genau so den Geist eingeführt, wie Lc. in das Logion vom Bitten. Die Verheissung des Geistes bei Mc. Mt. Lc. wäre ein Jüngerspruch wie die Aufforderung zum Beten um den Geist bei Lc. Das Wort von der Lästerung des Geistes wäre in beiden Fassungen ein Ausfluss der pneumatischen Macht, über die die Jünger verfügten.

Ist das richtig, dann scheint die neuerdings oft erörterte Frage: War Jesus Pneumatiker? in negativem Sinne beantwortet werden zu müssen. Die wenigen Pneumastellen können ja doch als bescheidene Versuche der Evangelisten, um die erst in der apostolischen Gemeinde aufgekommene Geisteserfahrung und die darauf gegründete Geistesspeculation in der Geschichte Jesu zu verankern, gelten. Vor allem ist dann der Pneumatiker Jesus, insoweit er in den Evangelien als solcher gezeichnet wird, ein Erzeugnis der apostolischen und nachapostolischen, transfigurierenden Christologie. Die leitenden Motive sind dann folgende gewesen: Zunächst hat man die postexistentiale Geistesverleihung dadurch mit der geschichtlichen Erscheinung Jesu zu verbinden gewusst, dass man ihre Verheissung Jesu in den Mund gelegt hat. Sodann hat man die Anschauung in das Evangelium eingetragen, dass Jesus schon während seiner irdischen Wirksamkeit durch den Geist Exorcismen bewirkt hat. Hierin wirkt sich natürlich die Idee aus, dass Jesus vor

Beginn seines Auftretens (oder schon bei seiner Geburt) mit dem Geiste ausgerüstet worden ist.

Die Geschichte von der Geistestaufe, die Jesus selbst erfahren hat, ist die wichtigste und wohl die grundlegende Conception in der ganzen Überlieferung von dem Geiste, der mit Jesus gekommen ist. Ihre Bedeutung ist eine dreifache. Einmal (1) erklärt sie die singuläre (wenn auch für die weitere Speculation ungenügende) Schätzung, die Jesus im Glauben der Gemeinde besass: er war der erste Geistesempfänger; durch den Empfang des Geistes ist er der Sohn Gottes geworden; hat er die Fähigkeit erhalten, den Geist auf die Erde zu bringen und eine pneumatische Gemeinde sich zu schaffen. Sodann (2) ist er durch die Taufe das Urbild der apostolischen Pneumatiker geworden. Weil in ihn der Geist in körperlicher Gestalt hineingefahren war, konnte er den Stand der christlichen Pneumatiker schaffen, die von ihm den Geist und die damit verbundene Kraft und Vollmacht empfingen. Schliesslich (3) erweitert sich das in der Taufe Jesu gegebene Paradigma zum Urbild der christlichen Taufe überhaupt. Das christliche Sacrament der Taufe ist urbildlich eingesetzt in der Taufe Jesu im Jordan. Alle Gaben der Taufe sind dort kraft göttlicher Manifestation stiftungsgemäss constituiert.

Unsere Kritik hat somit positive Resultate gezeitigt, deren Bedeutung nicht zu unterschätzen ist. Negativ ist sie darin, dass sie das Band zwischen der apostolischen Gemeinde und dem geschichtlichen Erdenleben Jesu zu zerschneiden droht. Der historische Jesus scheint darnach kein Pneumatiker gewesen zu sein, das pneumatische Element erst in der apostolischen Gemeinde entstanden zu sein, geweckt vielleicht durch den

messianischen Enthusiasmus, der durch den Glauben an die Erhöhung Jesu mächtig entflammt wurde. So plausibel das scheint, müssen wir doch fragen: ist die Construction in dieser radicalen Fassung wirklich haltbar? Ist mit der Ausscheidung, besser mit der mehr oder weniger gut begründeten Anzweiflung der synoptischen Pneumastellen — mehr ist bisher noch nicht geleistet! — wirklich das pneumatische Wesen radical aus dem historischen Jesusbilde ausgemerzt?

In der Tat ergiebt sich bei schärferem Zusehen, dass die Beschreibung Jesu als eines Pneumatikers keineswegs auf die wenigen Geschichten und Worte sich beschränkt, wo ausdrücklich das Wort *πνεῦμα* vorkommt. Dass Jesus Pneumatiker ist, wie nur irgend einer des Profeten, haben die Evangelisten auch noch auf andere Weise deutlich gezeigt.

Ich weise zunächst auf die "Vollmacht" (*ἐξουσία*), die sie Jesus zuschreiben.[1] Namentlich die Antithese *ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς* Mc. 1 : 22 = Mt. 7 : 29 zeigt den profetisch-pneumatischen Charakter dieser Wendung. Nach der Durchschnittsanschauung des Talmuds ist seit dem Erlöschen der Profetie der Geist Gottes nur noch in der Thorah und in den übrigen kanonischen Schriften zu finden.[2] Die Rabbinen dürfen nur auslegen und tradieren; ihnen fehlt die directe Offenbarung, die directe Vollmacht. Wer über *ἐξουσία* verfügt, hat eine Sendung, hat einen Auftrag von Gott erhalten; seine Worte haben die gleiche Geltung wie die, die durch den Geist gesprochen sind.[3] Das Urteil des

[1] S. zu diesem Wort Preuschen-Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des N. T.*, 2. Aufl. (1926), col. 431 f.

[2] S. Büchsel, a. a. O., pp. 123 ff.

[3] Vgl. Strack-Billerbeck, I, 470.

Volkes, das die Evangelisten wiedergeben, bezieht sich auf Worte, die sich von der Tradition emancipieren und (mit oder ohne bewusste Anlehnung an die Profeten) neue Tradition schaffen.

In der Geschichte vom Gelähmten wird die ἐξουσία auf die Sündenvergebung bezogen (Mc. 2 : 10 Par.). Hier lehrt schon ein Vergleich mit Joh. 20 : 22 f., dass es sich um ein Recht pneumatischer Art handelt. Ohne eine übernatürliche Vollmacht und ohne eine übernatürliche Fähigkeit die Menschen zu durchschauen ist solches Recht nicht auszuüben: beides wird durch den Geist verliehen.

Pneumatisch-profetische Exusia hat Jesus aber auch bei der Tempelreinigung in Anspruch genommen.[1] Auf diese Action zielt ja doch aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach das Gespräch über die Vollmacht Jesu ursprünglich ab. Solch einen Eingriff in die Rechte der Hierarchie kann sich nur der erlauben, der hierzu von Gott bevollmächtigt ist.

"Der Mann mit Vollmacht" ist also eine vordogmatische Interpretation Jesu, die den Eindruck seines Auftretens unmittelbar wiedergibt. Nach dem Gespräch über die Vollmacht hat er es selbst auch anerkannt, dass ihm wie dem Täufer eine profetische Vollmacht zuteil geworden sei. Vollmacht setzt einen Berufungsakt voraus, der der profetischen Sendung entspricht. So sind auch die zahlreichen ἦλθον-Sprüche der Synopse Beweise eines profetisch-pneumatischen Kraftbewusstseins und, soweit sie erst von der apostolischen Tradition geformt oder stilisiert sind, adäquate Auslegungen seiner profetischen, geist-

[1] S. die vortreffliche Erläuterung dieser Geschichte bei Bacon, *Apostolic Message*, pp. 233 ff.

gesalbten Sendung.[1] "Mann mit Vollmacht" ist schliesslich so viel wie: *Profet*. Als Bevollmächtigter, als Inspirierter trägt Jesus den Titel Profet. Auch die allerdings gleichfalls nicht häufigen Bezeichnungen Jesu als Profet sind somit Zeugnisse für sein Pneumatikertum. Dass das Volk ihn für einen Profeten hielt, hören wir mehrfach.[2] Dass er sich selbst den Titel gab, wird nur in dem Sprichwort Mc. 6 : 5 Par. und in dem Logion Lc. 13 : 33 bezeugt.[3]

Ein Synonymon von ἐξουσία ist δύναμις. Auch δύναμις ist eine pneumatische Realität. Ein Logion, in dem Jesus sich selbst solche "Kraft" zuschreibt, steht nur bei Lc. (8 : 46); offenbar hat er dies Wort selbst geformt (vgl. Mc. 5 : 30 f.). Aber dass (pneumatische) Kraft in Jesus ist, bezeugen die Evangelisten mehrfach[4] und wenn die Nazarener fragen: woher diese Weisheit und die Kräfte? (Mc. 6 : 2 = Mt. 13 : 54), so kann darauf nur geantwortet werden: von Gott (vom Himmel; vgl. Mc. 11 : 29 Par.) oder durch den Geist. Alle exorcistischen und medicinischen Taten Jesu — δυνάμεις nennt sie Jesus selbst in dem Logion Mt. 11 : 21, 23; Lc. 10 : 13 — sind damit als geistgewirkte Krafttaten ausgewiesen.

Solche profetische Kraft und Exusia hat nach der Überlieferung Jesus nun auch seinen Jüngern übertragen: Macht über die unreinen Geister Mc. 6 : 7, über alle Krankheiten Mt. 10 : 1; Lc. 9 : 1 (vgl. auch

[1] Vgl. A. Harnack, "'Ich bin gekommen.' Die ausdrücklichen Selbstzeugnisse Jesu über den Zweck seiner Sendung und seines Kommens," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (1912), pp. 1–30; A. Frövig, *Das Sendungsbewusstsein Jesu und der Geist*, p. 129 ff.

[2] Mc. 8 : 28 Par.; Mt. 21 : 11; Lc. 7 : 16, 39; 24 : 19.

[3] S. hierzu E. Fascher, ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ *Eine sprach- und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (1927), p. 173 ff.

[4] Mc. 5 : 30; Mt. 11 : 20 ff.; 14 : 2; Lc. 4 : 14, 36; 5 : 17.

Lc. 10 : 19; Mt. 10 : 25), endlich die Schlüsselgewalt Mt. 16 : 18 f.; 18 : 18; Joh. 20 : 22 f.[1] Gewiss ist auch hier bei jedem Spruch die Frage zu erwägen, ob es nicht Product einer Zurückdatierung apostolischer Erfahrungen und Aspirationen in die Geschichte Jesu darstellt. Auch dann erlauben diese Jüngersprüche einen Rückschluss auf die geschichtliche Erscheinung Jesu. Er hat die hier gemeinten Vollmachten jedenfalls besessen, und es bestätigt sich uns ihr pneumatischer Charakter. Als pneumatisch ist dann aber nicht nur seine exorcistische Tätigkeit erwiesen, sondern auch die Unabhängigkeit und Sicherheit, womit er in den Fragen der Religion (Gottes Wille und Apokalyptik) seine Entscheidungen trifft.[2]

Dass wir berechtigt sind, um dieser Eigenschaften willen Jesus als Pneumatiker anzusprechen, beweist meines Erachtens auch ein Vergleich mit den *talmudischen* Anschauungen über die Gegenwart des heiligen Geistes. Bekanntlich streben die Aussagen auseinander.[3] Wir haben einerseits die Theorie, dass sich seit den letzten Profeten der heilige Geist aus Israel zurückgezogen hat [4] und dass die Rabbinen im Unterschied von den Profeten sich des heiligen Geistes nicht bedienen,[5] andererseits die Tradition, dass einzelne

[1] Die Idee der Übertragung ist nach II Kön. 2 : 9 ff. zu verstehen.

[2] Besonders charakteristisch hierfür sind die Worte ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, womit er oftmals seine Versicherungen und Profezeiungen einführt; s. dazu Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, I (1888), p. 185 ff.; Strack-Billerbeck, I, 244 ff. Ein Grundstock dieser ἀμήν-Worte ist sicher echt.

[3] Vgl. jetzt Büchsel, a. a. O., p. 120 ff.

[4] Sanhedrin, 11 *a*; Büchsel, p. 123; Strack-Billerbeck, I, 127; II, 133.

[5] Gen. R. 37; Strack-Billerbeck, I, 63. Vgl. auch die Klage des R. Tarfon (um 100 n. Chr.): Beim Tempeldienst! wenn es in diesem Zeitalter einen giebt, der zurechtzuweisen versteht! So Sifre Lev. 19 : 17; Strack-Billerbeck, I, 335.

Rabbinen den Geist gehabt und als Geistträger und Profeten anerkannt worden seien. Darnach müsste eigentlich jeder Lehrer, der irgendwie über wirkliches profetisches Können, über profetische Lehrautorität verfügt, den Glauben wecken, dass ihm der heilige Geist verliehen sei. Alle Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht daher dafür, dass die Jünger an Jesus diesen Glauben herangebracht haben, hat er doch profetische Fähigkeiten nicht einmal, sondern häufig bewiesen. Wenn sie ihm eine Exusia zuschrieben, dann meinten sie damit, dass er den Geist habe. Auch wenn man alles summiert, was die talmudische Tradition den grossen Rabbinen zuschreibt, es bleibt wenig im Vergleich zur evangelischen, wenig auch im Vergleich zur kritisch beschnittenen evangelischen Tradition. Dann ist aber die Folgerung nicht zu umgehen, dass Jesus selbst die in ihm liegenden Kräfte, Fähigkeiten und Vollmachten auf den in ihm wirkenden Geist zurückgeführt hat. Wie fest er seinen inneren Besitz mit dem Geiste verbunden gedacht hat, ist nicht mehr genau zu ermitteln; aber dass er überzeugt war, in den grossen Momenten seines Lebens die Mitwirkung des Geistes zu erleben, kann als sicher gelten.

Hieraus folgt, dass wir nun doch der im ersten Teile dieser Untersuchung geübten Kritik nicht mehr volle Geltung zustehen können. Auch wenn in dem βασιλεία-spruch Mt. 12 : 28 = Lc. 11 : 30 der Ausdruck δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ursprünglich sein sollte, muss doch damit ein Machtorgan bezeichnet sein, das in das Bereich des heiligen Geistes gehört. Auch Moses galt ja als Pneumatiker.[1] Weiter haben wir jetzt mehr Vertrauen zu der Warnung vor der Lästerung des

[1] Vgl. Ass. Mos. 11 : 16; Philo, *de vita Mosis*, II, 37 ff.

Geistes Mc. 3 : 28 f. gewonnen. Dass Jesus seine Taten einer numinösen Macht zuschrieb, dass diese Macht, der heilige Geist, in seiner Person gegenwärtig geworden war, kann als gute Überlieferung betrachtet werden. Wir werden weiter jetzt auch günstiger denken über die Verheissung des Geistes an die Jünger Mc. 13 : 11 Par. und sie sogar dazu gebrauchen, um, wenn auch mit aller Vorsicht, Rückschlüsse daraus auf Jesu eigene Erfahrung zu ziehen. Was er den Jüngern für die kritischen Augenblicke profezeit, wird er selbst in ähnlichen entscheidenden Momenten erfahren haben. Wenn er auf schwierige und gefährliche Fragen sofort die treffende Antwort zu geben wusste, die keinen weiteren Einwurf zuliess, dann wird er in dieser "Geistesgegenwart" die Gegenwart des heiligen Geistes gespürt haben. Allerdings wird das in der evangelischen Überlieferung nie hervorgehoben (höchstens Mc. 2 : 8), aber sein Verhalten gibt allen Anlass zu solcher Auslegung und Vermutung. Schliesslich wird durch diese Zusammenhänge auch die Geschichtlichkeit der Tauferzählung gestützt. Sie ist aufzufassen als der Moment, wo Jesus zum ersten Male einen Impuls von oben her erfuhr. Die Stilisierung der Erzählung ist mythisch und die Interpretation ist von der altestamentlichen Figur des geistgesalbten Gottesknechts bestimmt. Aber ein historischer Kern ist sehr wahrscheinlich.

Wenn wir somit allen Grund haben, Jesus für einen Pneumatiker zu erklären und die Überlieferung darüber in der Hauptsache für richtig zu halten,[1] dann erhebt

[1] Es kommt noch hinzu die Überlieferung von dem Eindruck, den Jesus auf die Menschen macht: das Staunen, das Sichentsetzen; s. dazu H. Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes* u.s.w., 3. Aufl. (1909) p. 26 f.; E. Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ (1926), pp. 193 ff. Besonders wichtig ist das Urteil

sich nun die Frage: warum gibt dann die Überlieferung so wenig Zeugnisse von diesem Pneumatikertum? Ich kann keine bessere Antwort geben als die Vermutung, dass schon in der vorliterarischen Tradition eine Tendenz gewesen ist, die Spuren und Zeugnisse pneumatischer Begabung und pneumatischer Erregung möglichst zu *unterdrücken*. Gegen diese Annahme scheint zu sprechen, dass wir in Lucas doch gerade das entgegengesetzte Bestreben festgestellt haben: den Einfluss des Geistes auf Jesus stärker und häufiger hervorzuheben (Lc. 4 : 1, 14; 10 : 21).[1] Diese Beweise christlicher Interpretation sollen jetzt nicht wieder zurückgezogen werden. Sie sind aber auch kein Hindernis gegen die Annahme, dass früher oder gleichzeitig auch ein Process von entgegengesetzter Richtung stattgefunden hat. Hauptsache ist, dass sich *Motive* für solche Zurückdrängung der pneumatischen Factoren nennen lassen. Sie liegen vornehmlich in dem Wesen der Geistbegabung und in dem Verhältnis des Geistträgers zum Geist. Der Geist ist eo ipso eine höhere Macht, der der "Träger" unterstellt wird. Diese Subordination, die für jeden gewöhnlichen Pneumatiker selbstverständlich ist, wird ja auch für Jesus gelegentlich ausgesprochen, Mt. 12 : 32. Hierzu kommt, dass die pneumatische Erregung eine Erscheinungsform ist, die für die Verehrer und Gläubigen etwas Unheimliches oder gar Ärgerliches haben konnte. Endlich ist der Pneumatiker keine singuläre Erscheinung, sondern ein

der Hausgenossen Jesu: ἐξέστη Mc. 3 : 21, das typische Urteil des profanen Menschen über einen Pneumatiker. Auch einige der mit εὐθύς eingeführten Wendungen kann man als Zeugnisse pneumatischen Auftretens werten: auf dies Moment machte mich mein College H. T. de Graaf aufmerksam.

[1] Vielleicht ist Lucas durch das 10 : 18 vorangehende "Gesicht" Jesu zu dieser pneumatologischen Einleitung des folgenden Spruches angeregt worden.

Typus. Der Talmud kennt mehr als einen pneumatisch begabten Rabbinen. 'Geistträger' und 'Profet' sind keine exclusiven Titel, die den Stifter einer neuen Gemeinde, den Anfänger einer neuen Heilsepoche, das Objekt eines neuen Glaubens unzweideutig kennzeichnen.[1]

Dies mögen die Gründe gewesen sein, weshalb die Tradition nicht nur — dies gilt auch für Lucas — in der Zuweisung pneumatischer Züge an Jesus sparsam gewesen, sondern auch bestrebt gewesen ist, allzu "typische," allzu fremdartige, allzu offenkundige Beweise eines blossen Pneumatikertums von Jesus auszumerzen. Die evangelische Überlieferung hat denn auch höhere Prädicate, die sie Jesus lieber erteilt als die des Geistesträgers; allererst: den Christus, einen Titel, in dem das Element des Geistgesalbten nur verblümt angedeutet ist und sehr bald ganz vergessen war und der einen exclusiven Charakter hat (Christus ist der Gesalbte κατ' ἐξοχήν); sodann den Menschensohn (die Evangelien sprechen lieber von der Vollmacht des Menschensohns, als von der Vollmacht des Geistbegabten); endlich den Gottessohn: die Taufgeschichte gipfelt (in ihrer heutigen Fassung) in der Proclamation der Gottessohnschaft. Das Pneuma tritt demgegenüber in den Hintergrund; der Sinn und Zweck seiner Erscheinung ist kaum mehr zu erkennen. Christus, Menschen-, Gottessohn sind die drei Titel die schon die synoptische Evangelien beherrschen. Gegen sie kommt der Titel des Geistträgers, die Anschauung von dem durch den Geist Getriebenen

[1] Allerdings hat die Christologie die Unterscheidung gefunden, dass bei den Profeten der Geist nur stossweise auftrat, während er in Jesus "geblieben" ist, vgl. Joh. 1 : 33; Ev. sec. Hebr. (Hieron. in Jes. 11 : 2).

nicht mehr auf. Der Gottessohn vor allem ist über alle Impulse des Geistes erhaben, er weiss aus sich selbst, was er reden und tun muss.[1]

So erkläre ich mir, dass in der uns vorliegenden Fassung evangelischer Tradition das Reden und Handeln Jesu so selten aus dem Geiste abgeleitet wird. Ich möchte eine ältere, vorliterarische Form der Jesuserzählung postulieren, in der das pneumatische Element, der Impuls des Geistes und die Erregung durch den Geist häufiger und kräftiger auftrat.

Der gegenwärtige Bestand der Uberlieferung ist somit das Resultat zweier gegeneinander gerichteter Prozesse: Verdrängung und Einführung, besser Wiedereinführung des pneumatischen Elementes.[2] Ich vermute dass die auf Ausmerzung bedachte Tendenz tiefer eingegriffen hat, als die, die auf Auffüllung gerichtet war. Wenn in Mt. 12 : 28 πνεύματι secundär ist, dann handelt es sich da um Ersatz des unverständlichen δακτύλῳ durch eine geläufigere Anschauung. Wenn der Spruch Mt. 12 : 28 = Lc. 11 : 10 eine apostolische Schöpfung ist, so liegt da eine sehr primitive Christologie vor, die nicht lange Bestand haben konnte. Die Orakel, die die pneumatische Geburt Jesu erläutern, sind doch so gefasst, dass nur das Erzeugnis "der Sohn Gottes" in der Anschauung haften bleibt. Wenn Lc. Jesus

[1] Aus gleichen Gründen wurde auch der Titel "Knecht Gottes," auf dessen Bedeutung B. W. Bacon oftmals hingewiesen hat, sehr bald zugunsten des Prädikats "Sohn Gottes" unterdrückt. Zu den eine höhere Christologie begründenden Titeln gehört noch die göttliche *Weisheit*, die indes in der synoptischen Tradition selten selbständig auftritt, sondern meist mit dem 'Sohn Gottes' verbunden erscheint; s. B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and Paul*, pp. 122 ff. und *The Apostolic Message*, pp. 148 ff., 281 ff.; mein Artikel: "Die göttliche Weisheit der Juden und die paulinische Christologie," *Neutestamentl. Studien für G. Heinrici* (1914).

[2] So möchte ich die Auffassung, wie sie Büchsel, a. a. O., p. 216 oben ausspricht, corrigieren.

(10 : 21) in pneumatischer Erregung sprechen lässt, so zeugt doch das Logion selbst nur von dem intimen einzigartigen Verhältnis von Vater und Sohn. Anders ausgedrückt: in den meisten secundären Pneumastellen ist die Gefahr der Subordination Jesu unter den Geist vermieden. Die Sohn-Gottes-Christologie hat sich die Anschauung vom pneumabegabten Gottgesandten assimiliert. Die namentlich in Lc. vorliegende Tendenz der Pneumatisierung der Christusgestalt ist doch in eine Fassung gebracht, die dem Streben, alle unterchristlichen Pneumatikerzüge auszumerzen, ganz conform ist.

Unser letztes Ergebnis ist von grosser Wichtigkeit. Der Pneumatiker Jesus ist eine interessantere Erscheinung der Religionsgeschichte als der Lehrer, der bloss die Thorah auslegt und alte und neue Weisheit verkündet (Mt. 13 : 52). Der Pneumatiker verfügt über Impulse und Inspirationen, die von oben kommen. Er legt nicht nur aus, sondern kündet auch neue Wahrheiten und Einsichten. Das Pneuma macht den Thorahgelehrten und Weisheitslehrer zum Profeten. Durch sein Pneumatikertum erhebt sich Jesus weit über die Rabbinen und Weisheitslehrer seiner Zeit. Er schafft neue Zukunftsgedanken und neue Einsichten in den Willen Gottes. Er ist ein neuer "Träger des Worts."

Jesus war Lehrer und Pneumatiker, ein von Gott gesandter Lehrer (Joh. 3 : 2). War er auch Ekstatiker und war er auch Profet der Endzeit und Gesalbter im messianischen Sinne?

Unter *Ekstase* möchte ich hier ein gesteigertes Pneumatikertum verstehen, das sich in Visionen, in exaltierten Zuständen äussert.[1] Die Überlieferung

[1] Vgl. O. Holtzmann, *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* (1903).

zeigt davon sehr wenig Spuren. Auch hier ist mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, dass die Erinnerung an häufigere ekstatische Zustände und Äusserungen in der Überlieferung getilgt worden ist. Doch kann man aus dem Gesamtbestand der Tradition erschliessen, dass das Ekstatische sich nicht allzu sehr hervorgedrängt hat. Was O. Holtzmann für den Ekstatiker in Anspruch nimmt, ist meist mehr pneumatisch als ekstatisch zu nennen. Immerhin bin auch ich geneigt, aus der Taufgeschichte und der Vision vom Satan Lc. 10 : 18 zu entnehmen, dass seine apokalyptischen Verkündigungen in reicherem Masse durch ekstatische Erlebnisse befruchtet gewesen sind als die canonische Überlieferung andeutet. Vor Überschätzung des ekstatischen Elementes warnt uns einmal die Ruhe und Sicherheit, mit der er meist auftritt, die gesammelte Kraft, die in kritischen Momenten ihm hilft, die Situation zu meistern: das ist pneumatisch, nicht ekstatisch. Es kommt hinzu die grosse Nüchternheit des Urteils und der Argumentation, die ihn oft auszeichnet und die eher an einen Weisheitslehrer in der Art Jesu Sirachs, als an einen Ekstatiker erinnert.[1]

Vom Pneumatiker zum *Messias* scheint nur ein Schritt zu führen. Im Volke ist Jesus bei Lebzeiten kaum für den Messias gehalten worden. Dass einzelne seiner Jünger ihn dafür hielten, scheint mir sicher,[2] nur erwarteten sie die Offenbarung seiner Messiasmacht erst von der Zukunft. Wahrscheinlich hat Jesus diesen Glauben geteilt, besser er hat ihn seinen Jüngern suggeriert. Hätten wir die ganze pneumatische Überlie-

[1] Auch die Haltung in Gethsemane ist nicht pneumatisch; Büchsel's Auführungen, p. 180 ff., erscheinen mir irrig.

[2] Ich vermute, dass Petrus und die Zebedaiden die ersten waren, die diesen Glauben gewannen und dass sie die anderen überredet haben.

ferung der postexistentialen Interpretation der Gemeinde zuweisen müssen, dann wäre auch die Anerkennung seines Messiasbewusstseins sehr problematisch, besser unmöglich geworden. Das positive Resultat, das wir schliesslich fanden, hat auch ein günstiges Urteil über den ihm zugeschriebenen Messiasanspruch zur Folge. Dann ergiebt sich aber auch eine grössere Continuität zwischen Jesus und der Gemeinde. Wie die Gemeinde vom Geiste erfüllt war, so war auch der historische Jesus, ihr Stifter, schon ein Pneumatiker. Die apostolische Christologie ist eine durch Speculation und Mythus beeinflusste Interpretation, die ihren ersten Impuls von dem eigenen Bewusstsein Jesu erhielt.

METHOD IN STUDYING JESUS' SOCIAL TEACHING

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METHOD IN STUDYING JESUS' SOCIAL TEACHING

Jesus of Nazareth has been variously viewed throughout Christian history, as successive generations have found their interests and ideals reflected in him. This is no small tribute to his greatness, to the charm and magnetism of his name, to the unfathomed mystery of his personality as one " unknown and yet well known," known in part and yet a stranger, " The Everlasting Man " and yet " The Man Nobody Knows." In an age of Messianic enthusiasm he was expected as the Christ coming on the clouds. In an age and to a world yearning for spiritual redemption he appeared chiefly as the Redeemer. In an age of theology, as a theologian; in an age of philosophy, as a philosopher and teacher of ethics; in an age of romanticism, as a poet and dreamer; in the era of the comparative study of religions, as the " Founder " of Christianity; in a day of social transition and rebuilding he appears to many to be primarily a teacher of " the social gospel."

Albert Schweitzer has described in a vivid metaphor [1] the " wrestling " of the Germanic spirit with the figure of Jesus, the cry wrung from its lips as from Jacob's, " I will not let thee go, except thou bless me." In a way this has been true of the reception of Jesus by race after race, from the day when the church's horizon was bounded by the hills of Syria and Palestine, on down to

[1] *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 310.

the recent past and present. It is not at all strange then that our democratic era, with its strong emphasis upon what we call the "social" outlook, should be inclined to discover in Jesus the authority and inspiration for its noblest hopes and impulses.

But the question arises: How far is contemporary Christianity justified *historically* in its appeal to the "social teaching" of Jesus? Is its estimate of his purpose a fair one? Did he intend to reconstruct society upon the humanistic-democratic basis? Did he, in fact, offer anything describable as a "social message" — *i.e.*, a program of reconstruction — to the world of his time? (It is in this sense that the word "social" is understood in this paper.)

What I propose is no final answer but simply the exposition of a method to be followed in studying the problem. *First* of all, if we are to arrive at trustworthy results, the primitive documents must be interrogated, not only for what they can tell us directly of Jesus' teaching but of that teaching as handed down by oral tradition. For this purpose a knowledge of their provenance, date, transmission, background, interests, and outlook is necessary, as far as these can be recovered. In the *second* place it is necessary to investigate the background not only of the documents but also of the life of Christ; *i.e.*, the economic, social, political, moral, and religious conditions in first-century Palestine. As a part of this background must be studied the traditional attitude of the Jewish religion and ethics on "social" matters, as reflected in the ancient literature. *Thirdly*, Jesus' teaching as a whole must be investigated in order to see the social teaching in its relation to the rest and against the whole varied background of

his life and ministry. Only when we have obtained a genuinely historical conception of the sources and insight into their meaning shall we be in a position to discuss Jesus' social teaching with any promise of accurate and reliable results. The present essay is an attempt to outline this method by applying it to the earliest documentary sources at our command.

§ 1

Extra-Christian Sources. Do these give us any information about Jesus as a social teacher or leader? It is needful to pay attention to them, brief and unsatisfactory as they are, inasmuch as a number of writers find in them a fairer and more unbiased estimate of Jesus and his work than in the Christian writings.[1]

It is significant that of Josephus' two references to Jesus one (*Ant.*, XVIII, 3, 3) occurs in the midst of an account of the disturbances during Pilate's procuratorship.[2] Naber brackets the whole passage (§ 3), and many scholars solve the problem of the text by calling it an interpolation.[3] Others, and most recently Klausner, attempt to expurgate the text, leaving a residuum of intelligible narrative [4] somewhat as follows:

Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man; he was a worker of miracles, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He won over many both of the Jews and Greeks. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of yet principal men among us, had condemned him to the

[1] *E.g.*, Kautsky, *Ursprung des Christentums*, pp. 5, 19.

[2] § 1, the effigies of Cæsar set up in Jerusalem; § 2, the aqueduct built with sacred money; § 3, concerning Jesus; §§ 4–5, expulsion of Jews from Rome; chap. 4, 1 f., disturbances in Samaria.

[3] *E.g.*, Schürer, *Geschichte*, I., § 17, Anh. 2.

[4] *Jesus of Nazareth*, pp. 55 f., agreeing in general with the apocryphal text edited by Bratke: cf. Schürer, Anh. 2 *ad fin.*

cross, those who loved him at first ceased not [to do so]; and the tribe [or race] of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct even now.

It is a question if even this much of the passage can be salvaged as authentic — especially since the last statement (concerning the Christians, "so named from him") is left without explanation; for no reference to Jesus' claim of Messiahship, or to the belief of his followers in his Messiahship, is to be found in the expurgated version. Supposing Josephus had a paragraph at this point referring to the appearance of Jesus or describing his work and its results (which is not improbable), it seems impossible now to recover what he wrote — either from this section in the Greek text or from the even more improbable Slavonic version recently discovered. However, if Josephus did mention Jesus at this point, his condemnation by Pilate doubtless fitted in with the author's apologetic purpose, especially as balancing up the effect of the two preceding sections (where Josephus' sympathies are evidently with the outraged people, despite his acquiescent conclusion: "And thus the sedition was ended").

We conclude therefore that the passage which might have given us a most valuable if not wholly impartial estimate of Jesus as a social teacher and leader was either not written by Josephus or was afterward mutilated beyond recognition by copyists and interpolators.

Josephus' other reference to Jesus (*Ant.*, XX, 9, 1), though perhaps not an interpolation, adds nothing to our information. Josephus' remarkable silence regarding Messianism is usually accounted for by his wish to give a favorable impression of Judaism to his Roman readers; the same would apply equally to

" social " agitation or doctrine, and doubly so if coupled with Messianic enthusiasm. Moreover, if the people looked upon Herod the tetrarch's defeat by Aretas (*Ant.*, XVIII, 5, 2) as a divine punishment for his murder of the Baptist, how much more would Christians (especially Christian Jews) view the destruction of Jerusalem as the punishment for the crucifixion of their Lord.[1]

The references to Christ or Christianity in other non-Christian Greek or Latin authors add little to our knowledge. Tacitus (*Annals*, XV, 44) has little use for the Christians; but, as Klausner remarks,[2] his testimony is of little independent value, coming as it does seventy-five years *post eventum*. And he does not mention the charge or charges upon which Jesus was condemned by Pilate.

Suetonius's oft-quoted statement (*Vita Claud.*, 25) that Claudius " banished from Rome the Jews who were constantly making a tumult because of *Chrestus* " finds no support in the New Testament (Acts 18 : 2), which would scarcely be silent if any such reason had been given for their expulsion; and neither Josephus, from whom we might expect some comment, nor Tacitus has any hint of it.[3] Can Suetonius mean that the Jewish opposition to Christian propaganda outside Rome, of which the Book of Acts is full, led Claudius to expel all Jews from the city? This seems scarcely probable. Nor is it likely that the decree was completely or successfully carried out.[4] What appears

[1] Matthew 21 : 40–43; Luke 21 : 20–24; cf. Wernle, *Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 4.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

[3] *Ant.*, XVIII, 3, 5, recounts an expulsion in the reign of Tiberius.

[4] Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte*, III, 61 ff. and notes.

more likely is that Suetonius's phrase, *impulsore Chresto*, like Tacitus' *Chrestianos*, represents later Roman prejudice or misunderstanding. To say the least, the "testimony" of these Roman writers provides but the slenderest of grounds for identifying early Christianity with a radical "social" movement, or for describing Christ as a "labor agitator."

When we turn to the Rabbinic writings the case is scarcely improved.[1] The majority appear to reflect Jewish propaganda against Christianity as a whole — in particular the doctrine of Christ's deity — and the earliest of them but echo the resentment of Jesus' contemporaries against his freedom in interpreting the law. His miracles are viewed just as they were by "the scribes which came down from Jerusalem" (Mark 3:22): "The *Baraitha* says, Yeshu [of Nazareth] practised sorcery and beguiled and led Israel astray."[2] There is no Rabbinical evidence, so far as I am aware, that Jesus was looked upon as the preacher of a social message or as the leader of a social movement. Josephus, writing in the shadow of the imperial throne, might conceivably have remained silent regarding a movement which would only the more completely justify his Roman readers' attitude upon affairs in Palestine prior to the Jewish War; but the Rabbinic scholars, commenting or writing long afterward and addressing their own circle, had no such reason for silence.

It appears then that the non-Christian "sources,"

[1] Travers Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, and Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, bk. i, ch. 1, have made these sources readily accessible to readers of English and have also carefully and critically sifted them for whatever genuine historical data they contain.

[2] *Sanh.* 107 *b*, etc., Klausner, p. 25.

despite the weight placed upon them by certain writers who see in early Christianity simply a vigorous social movement, offer practically no support to such a theory. The theory must first be read into them before their testimony can be interpreted in its interest.

§ 2

St. Paul. The teaching of Jesus explicitly quoted or referred to by St. Paul, though not great in quantity, is probably reasonably proportionate in amount, considering the relative scantiness of Paul's correspondence and the subjects considered in his letters. At the same time he presupposes a certain familiarity with Christ's teaching on the part of his readers; "deliberate ignorance" of Jesus' teaching or of the facts of his life is scarcely imaginable in one whose whole aim was to present his Lord to the Gentiles.[1] Such echoes of Jesus' teaching and appeals to his authority as we find in Paul's letters fit without much difficulty into the synoptic tradition; *e.g.*, the eschatological expectation (I Thessalonians 4 : 15 ff.), the teaching on divorce (I Corinthians 7 : 10), support of the apostles (I Corinthians 9 : 14; see Luke 10 : 7), the Last Supper (I Corinthians 11 : 23 ff.), the testimony to the Resurrection (I Corinthians 15 : 4 ff.), and Christ as son of David (Romans 1 : 3). Though he professes to know Christ no more "after the flesh" (II Corinthians 5 : 16), it is a strained interpretation of the words which makes them refer to the facts of Jesus' earthly life or the tradition of his teaching; Paul's whole attitude toward the authority of Jesus' words stands in contradiction

[1] See Rawlinson, *New Testament Doctrine of the Christ*, p. 90.

to such a view.[1] The quotation in Acts 20 : 35, " It is more blessed to give than to receive," must have been recognized by Luke (if he was the author of both the Gospel and Acts) as an *agraphon* (though see Luke 6 : 38 [L ?] and Matthew 10 : 8[Q ?]), and implies the same familiarity with the tradition of Jesus' teaching that Paul's letters presuppose. It is significant that Paul, whose " social ethics " are not entirely inconsiderable, and who did not hesitate upon occasion to set forth in explicit detail the duties of masters, servants, husbands, wives, children, and citizens, makes almost no appeal to the social teaching of Jesus. It is " the spirit of Christ," " the mind of Christ," to which he appeals. Even " the word of Christ " which is to govern the Christian life is more a quasi-mystical indwelling of Christ himself [2] than it is the application of Jesus' spoken words to the new situation. The free, unquestioning confidence, the sheer faith, of such a procedure is not only characteristic of St. Paul but highly suggestive of the attitude of early Gentile Christianity as reflected in later sources (I Peter, the Johannine writings, I Clement, etc.).

§ 3

St. Mark. In Mark we have, if not the primary document in the synoptic tradition, at least one of the two (or perhaps four, following Streeter) major written sources for the life and teaching of Jesus. It is true that Mark gives us more of the narrative and less of the didactic element in the tradition — perhaps presupposing either Q or a parallel unwritten account of

[1] Cf. Rawlinson, *loc. cit.*, note 5.
[2] Col. 3 : 16; cf. Lightfoot, *ad loc.*; contrast I Thessalonians 4 : 15.

Jesus' teaching. Nevertheless, for the purposes of our investigation, narrative is equally as valuable as teaching; and what he does give us — chiefly in chapters 9 and following — is considerable in quantity and importance.

It may not be correct to say that in chapter 1 he *omits* John the Baptist's social preaching, which Luke gives (3 : 10–14; from L?), though it is significant that the reason he assigns for Antipas's action in imprisoning John is the prophet's reproof for his marriage (Mark 6 : 18), and not, as in Luke 3 : 19, this together with "all the evil things which Herod had done." Luke's references to Herod Antipas and John the Baptist clearly imply Mark's narrative of the death of John,[1] and therefore Luke's familiarity with Mark's narrative, which he abridges and supplements. Josephus makes no mention of John's rebuke of the tetrarch either on account of his marriage or his evil deeds, but ascribes the murder of John to Antipas's fear of the prophet's growing influence and of the danger of rebellion (*Ant.*, XVIII, 5, 2; cf. Mark 6 : 20). It may be that Josephus, who was not unfamiliar with the traditions of the Herodian family, has given us an account that supplements with real insight the Marcan and Lucan narratives. Moreover, Mark (writing in Rome?) may possibly have "toned down" the story; Schürer suspects Josephus (also writing in Rome) of doing the same, though he thinks John's *imprisonment* is rightly accounted for by Josephus.[2] At any rate, there was a tradition that John the Baptist was re-

[1] Luke 9 : 7–9 (L); Mark 6 : 14–29. Luke 3 : 20 left John in prison, but Luke has no narrative of his execution.

[2] *Geschichte*, I, 437 ff.

strained by Herod Antipas either out of fear of his popularity and its political possibilities or in revenge for his sharp rebuke of Herod's "evil deeds"; and Mark either ignores or is ignorant of this twofold tradition (reflected partly in Josephus and partly in Luke). The implication of this tradition for the "social" background of the beginning of our Lord's ministry is obvious, though I do not think it is sufficient to justify the description of John as a social or political agitator. The Gospels do not hint this; nor does Josephus, writing (as was suggested) with a knowledge of the later Herodian family traditions, since he states only Antipas's fear of John's influence, not any overt deeds or words of the prophet.[1]

The social sympathies of the evangelist St. Luke have often been pointed out, viz., his interest in children, women, the poor, and the outcast; it is noteworthy that a similar interest and perhaps sympathy is to be found in Mark.[2] In Mark, for example, we have the woman who had spent her all upon physicians and "was nothing bettered" (5 : 26; Matthew and Luke omit this detail); the "two hundred pennyworth" of bread — an immense sum, for the disciples (Mark 6 : 37; Matthew and Luke omit; cf. John 6 : 7); the stumbling of "little ones" (9 : 42); the prohibition of divorce (10 : 1–12); the blessing of the children (10 : 13–16); the scribes "devouring widows' houses" (12 : 40; Luke follows, Matthew omits); the

[1] See my *Economic Background of the Gospels*, pp. 114 f.

[2] Their agreement points not only to a Christian virtue already emphasized in the early church (familiar to us from Paul, the later Apologists — *e.g.*, Aristides — and Origen), but also to the authenticity of the Evangelists' impression of Jesus and of the common tradition of his sayings, deeds, and personality.

widow's mite (12 : 41–44; Luke follows, Matthew omits); "the poor . . . always with you" (14 : 7; Luke omits) — a list of passages to which others might possibly be added (*e.g.*, 7 : 9–13, "Corban"; Luke omits).

On the other hand, we search in vain for anything suggesting a direct equation of the Gospel with a social message — and even more vainly for anything approaching a political or economic program. Such a conception apparently never entered the writer's mind. In the Second Feeding (8 : 2) Jesus has compassion on the multitude, not because of their social or political condition (which might have suggested such a possibility as John 6 : 15 reflects: "take him by force, to make him king"); nor even, as in the account of the First Feeding (Mark 6 : 34), "because they were as sheep not having a shepherd"; but simply because, after spending three days with him, they were without food and in danger of fainting on the way to their homes — where, evidently, food would be procurable. There is no "social" motive here, but simple generosity, sympathy, hospitality. It stands in marked contrast to the utter unconcern of Jesus about his *own* food.[1]

Again, in the story of the Syrophœnician woman (Mark 7 : 24–30), there is a marked absence of any "social" motive; if Mark were a doctrinaire social sympathist he could not have let this passage stand as it is.[2]

[1] Mark 8 : 15, immediately following. Cf. Luke 4 : 4, "Man shall not live by bread alone."

[2] Luke entirely omits it; Matthew, perhaps conflating with M — to use Streeter's designation — makes it even less sympathetic.

The counsel, "be minister of all" (9 : 35), is certainly understood as implying "individual ethics," since the immediate interpretation is afforded by the acted parable of setting a little child in the midst of the disputatious disciples.[1]

The interpretation of the "little ones" in Mark 9 : 42 is probably best found in "children" generally — see 9 : 36 and 10 : 13, near-by passages — since the Rabbinic meaning, "unripe scholars," is scarcely possible,[2] though Mark obviously introduced the saying here as applicable to the incident in 9 : 38, the unknown exorcist. Such exorcisms in the name of Jesus pronounced by non-Christians, which as we know from Matthew, from Acts, from the papyri and other sources actually took place, no doubt offered a vexatious problem to the early church;[3] hence we should not be surprised if Mark and his readers found the saying one of peculiar interest. It is obvious that its "social" significance is only most general.

The teaching regarding divorce (10 : 1–12), reported in all the synoptists (and indeed in double form) and echoed by St. Paul, was certainly social doctrine, though scarcely of economic or political significance, and hardly of such a nature as to justify a movement or a propaganda. It stands almost isolated as an example of Christ's "legislation" (to use Seeley's unfortunate term), and was in reality — as Jesus himself made clear — an interpretation of the Old Testament code in the light of its most basic and fundamental principle,

[1] Though it may be better, with *D*, Lat. vet. *k*, to omit the saying — attracted here, we cannot explain how except as a paraphrastic gloss, from 10 : 43 f., and omitted by both Matthew and Luke.

[2] See Strack-Billerbeck on Matthew 10 : 42.

[3] Cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

revealed in the narrative of the creation. That such positive prohibition of divorce was not unknown at the time we have seen from John's rebuke of Antipas; the restrictions set up by the school of Shammai are well known, and it is possible that others than the Zadokites [1] shared a higher conception of the ethics of marriage. The great if unconscious difficulty in the Rabbinic exegesis of the Old Testament, as Strack and Billerbeck point out,[2] was the necessity of interpreting it as a code of civil and criminal law. Had the scribes worked out a code independently of the Old Testament, or had they interpreted the Old Testament historically and critically without reference to contemporary legal exigencies, they might have been at liberty to follow the leading of a nobler ethic. Jesus was of course entirely free from the necessity of interpreting the Old Testament *unter den praktischen Gesichtspunkten des Strafrichters* — a freedom which a nationalist like Klausner naturally views as a limitation.[3]

The words to the rich man (10 : 17–22), "Sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor," may no doubt be viewed as an offset to Jesus' refusal to become "a judge or a divider." That Jesus made it an unexceptionable requirement of all men of means who came to him seems doubtful; had he done so, we should have

[1] Cf. *Zadokite Fragments*, 7 : 1. [2] *Kommentar*, I, 299.

[3] *Jesus of Nazareth*, pp. 390, 397. But when all is said it is Jesus' purely theoretical or ideal ethics of marriage, despite many of its perversions in practice and misinterpretations in doctrine, which has done more to establish a humane and spiritual conception of marriage than any or all other teaching with which we are familiar. What is most extraordinary is that this obvious and indisputable factor in his teaching is overlooked by many for whom "social idealism" means primarily concern over the fair distribution of wealth — a subject which Jesus not only did not emphasize but in fact, at least on one occasion, refused to consider (Luke 12 : 14; the administration of equity was in the hands of the constituted courts).

heard of it — here, or in the narrative of the early Jerusalem church (*e.g.*, Acts 4 : 34–35) — instead of having to depend upon an inference from the isolated L-verse, Luke 14 : 33. On the other hand, such a situation as that described in James 2 : 1–13 (the man with a gold ring honored in the synagogue; cf. I John 3 : 17) was intolerable not only in the early Palestinian or Syrian church but also in the company of Jesus' disciples during his ministry. If the man was bidden to come and follow Jesus (*i.e.*, as a member of the band of disciples) there was no alternative to renouncing his possessions. But there is no hint of communism: he was to "give to the poor," not to share with Jesus' companions. Moreover, in the passage before us, Jesus would scarcely be blind to the man's attachment to his possessions, even before the acid test was applied.

On the question of the support of our Lord and his wandering disciples, we know so little beyond the fact of the generosity of the ministering women (Luke 8 : 1–3), the occasional invitations to dine in pious homes, and the fact that the disciples had some kind of common fund, that it is hazardous to conjecture how far the requirement of absolute poverty was enforced. No doubt the disciples still had their friends and relations, some of whom, like Zebedee, kept "hired servants" and were therefore not in poverty (Mark 1 : 20). What seems most probable is that members of Jesus' band were expected to live unencumbered with worldly affairs, with business or domestic obligations, and to share alike in whatever food or money was received — as we see them doing later in Jerusalem, after the Resurrection; and that they were able to carry out this plan of holy improvidence in a country where hospi-

tality to religious teachers and their immediate disciples was more or less taken for granted (Mark 6 : 7–13). That the plan would not work in crowded Jerusalem, with its multitude of poor, nor in a commercial Græco-Roman city like Thessalonica, is evident from its failure and final abandonment in the former and from Paul's stringent regulations in the latter (II Thessalonians 3 : 6–15).

That Jesus assumed the possession of great wealth to be an obstacle to entrance into the Kingdom of God is clear from the following passage (Mark 10 : 23–27), though it is apparent that since " all things are possible with God " he did not despair of any man's salvation (verse 27).[1] The following verses, 28–30, giving Peter's remark, " Lo, we have left all," and Jesus' answer, though they may have suffered somewhat in tradition, no doubt fairly represent Jesus' attitude toward the renunciation he required of his immediate disciples. Their reward " now in this time " is comparable to Jesus' true family described in Mark 3 : 35. The whole attitude finds perhaps its closest parallel and best illumination in that of the early Franciscan brotherhood, a purely other-worldly and spiritual movement with tremendous social significance and power. But who would call it a " program " for all society to adopt ?[2]

[1] The traditional interpretation of the "needle's eye" as a small gate through which a camel entered on its knees is only a pious fancy.

Mark's verse 24, after we have omitted the interpolation of *ACDN*, etc.: "those who trust in riches," seems watered down and pointless; it is omitted by both Matthew and Luke, and may be a gloss, under the influence of Matthew 7 : 14. But see Rawlinson, *Commentary, ad loc.*

[2] The "free" saying in verse 31 ("Many that are first shall be last"; cf. Luke 13 : 30) is significant here as an echo of verse 27; God is, so to speak, "the God of the unexpected."

It begins to be clear that Jesus' whole social attitude, at least as reflected by Mark, is one of detachment from those concerns which bulk largest in the scheme of the social reformer, viz., our ceaseless human "getting and spending" whereby we "lay waste our powers." His attitude is more nearly approximated by that of the moderate ascetic, the man who renounces all for the sake of the Kingdom of God, who finds his true wealth in the spiritual quest, in love, joy, peace, and moral fellowship; but who at the same time and more or less without intending it throws a new light upon men's lives, deflates the current materialist values, and appeals to motives that show up the pursuit of Mammon as not only wicked but absurd and meaningless. It may be that no higher social service can ever be performed by any one than this: to render cruelty, greed, and oppression — whether "industrial" or any other — obnoxious to the better sense of men; and to make goodness, love, compassion, generosity, stand out as ethical imperatives which simply cannot but be obeyed.[1] To do this requires no "program," though it alone guarantees the success of any worthy program. What it requires is a more central and whole-seeing view of life, more of reality, more of God, than the many millions of the rest of us ordinarily or when left to ourselves ever acquire.

This attitude of Jesus is clearly to be seen in his words on the rulers of the Gentiles,[2] and reaches its climax

[1] Cf. A. E. Taylor, *Plato*, p. 183: "It has been said with truth that the great 'practical reforms' which have proved of lasting value have mostly been the work of men whose hearts were all the time set on something different."

[2] Mark 10: 42–44; verse 44 is not to be taken as a repetition of 9: 35; see above.

in the majestic saying about " the Son of Man " who " came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." Here, no doubt, we have a key to the whole Messianic conception as it was transformed and interpreted in the mind of Jesus, and made a more religious concept than it had been before his time.

Throughout the Passion Narrative of Mark we find the same attitude reflected as in the preceding discourse and narrative section of the Gospel. The Cleansing of the Temple is not an act of " social " but of religious zeal, as 11 : 16 indicates: " And he would not suffer that any man should carry a vessel through the temple " (a verse omitted by both parallels). The " social " interpretation of Jesus' act, as an expression of popular agitation against the extortions of sellers and money-changers, is considerably weakened when it is recognized that " den of robbers " is an exact — and apt — quotation of Jeremiah 7 : 11 (where more than extortion is implied).

The Parable of the Wicked Vineyard-keepers (12 : 1–12) is amenable to a social interpretation only after reading into it a meaning it does not primarily bear. Even if, with Burkitt and others, we recognize it as an authentic parable of Jesus, it appears to reflect in its present form the early Christian view of his rejection by the Jewish hierarchy (see especially verses 9–11).

The following section, on Tribute to Cæsar (12 : 13–17), fits in precisely with Mark's representation of Jesus' social attitude. He refused to be caught on either horn of the Pharisaic-Herodian dilemma, and proposed a solution which would leave men free to follow their highest good unencumbered by political

problems: it is essentially a quietistic — as opposed to an "activistic" — solution of a problem destined in his time to become more and more vexatious until in the end Palestine found itself involved in a hopeless war with Rome.[1] Klausner suggests [2] that our Lord hinted that, "for him, the foreign emperor was the antithesis of God"; but we may perhaps find a closer approximation to Jesus' meaning in R. Akiba's parable of the Fox and the Fish: "If the fish live in fear in their native element [the Jews under the Law], how much more would they fear if they were to dwell on dry land with the fox [the Jews under Rome]!" [3] What Jesus implies is more explicitly stated by St. Paul, "If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, be at peace with all men" (Romans 12 : 18); and also, more shrewdly expressed in its political bearing, by R. Gamaliel: "Be on your guard against the ruling power (*roshûth*)" (*Aboth* 2 : 3) — though a parallel to the later New Testament doctrine of political coöperation is also to be found in the same tractate (3 : 2), R. Khanina: "Pray for the welfare of the government (*malkûth*)." It is not mere cleverness and evasion that we see in Jesus' words but the proposal of a *modus vivendi* which is to be effective during an evil time, a time which is indeed passing away but must be endured while it lasts. To understand this with the medieval exegetes as a portion of Christ's "legislation," effective permanently, is naïve and unhistorical.

Jesus' addition to the Great Commandment in the Law of "the second" like unto it (12 : 28–34) is certainly significant of his social teaching; here again,

[1] Cf. *Economic Background*, pp. 134 f. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 318.
[3] B. *Berakhoth*, 61 *b*; Fiebig, *Jüdische Wundergeschichten*, p. 38.

however, we have a profound ethical principle rather than a revolutionary maxim. The principle was already stated in the Torah (Leviticus 19 : 18); what Jesus did was detach the command from its context and set it forth as a universal principle applicable under all conditions.[1] Though the saying is an incident in the controversy in the temple, Mark's addition of Jesus' commendation of the scribe, " Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God " (verse 34; Matthew and Luke omit), indicates the paramount importance which he understood Christ to lay upon this twofold " summary of the law."

It may be thought that Jesus' lack of appreciation of the magnificence of Herod's temple (13 : 1–2) indicates a social or economic dissatisfaction rather than an indifference due to preoccupation with the " eschatological " outlook (which Mark assumes in the remainder of the chapter). We know that the costs of Herod's architectural adornment of his capital and chief cities were burdensome and aroused resentment, and we suspect that this contributed to the social unrest in the following century.[2] But it is sufficient to note that Jesus has not a word to say on the subject of the cost of the temple but only upon its doom. In a teacher whose primary interests were social this silence would be inexplicable; but for Jesus, as we have seen, such interests were secondary.

The saying about the poor (14 : 7) can scarcely be taken, as by some older interpreters, as expressing a conviction that poverty is incurable, a " necessary

[1] Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, I, p. 907 (R. Akiba); *ib.* 354, the uniqueness of its application to all men.

[2] Cf. *Economic Background*, chap. I, §§ 3–4.

evil"; much less as expressing heartless indifference to the sufferings of the "sons of want." The old religion, Judaism, had made charity and almsgiving a *sine qua non* of the pious life; Jesus can scarcely be taking a lower stand than his contemporaries — and other sayings of his prove that he did not do so. But here again it is clear that Mark's *main* interest is not social;[1] the whole point of the remark is seen in Jesus' approaching death and burial.

It is significant that the charges brought against Jesus at his trial, both before the Sanhedrin and before Pilate, are, according to Mark, purely religious and not social or political (14 : 53–64; 15 : 1–15; cf. 15 : 29, 32). Pilate recognizes that it was "for envy the chief priests had delivered him up" (15 : 10). And although the charge of sedition is implied in Pilate's question, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" the allusion is left wholly unexplained and "in the air." This is in marked contrast to the narrative of Luke (23 : 2–3, 5; from L) and even to that in John (18 : 30; 19 : 12, 15). It has been suspected that Mark left the allusion unexplained because he was "writing in Rome"; but it is equally possible that he either did not know any further "explanation," or that he did not suppose any was necessary. Matthew, following Mark, apparently saw no necessity for explaining it — and no one dreams that "Matthew" was written in Rome. The charge seems, in view of all that precedes in Mark's Gospel, one wholly trumped up, a perversion of the meaning of Messiahship on Jesus' lips; and the title on the cross

[1] If verses 7–8, as may be suspected, owe their present form to the author of the Gospel or the tradition upon which he relied; a similar *Umformung* may be seen in 2 : 19–20.

entirely lacked the point of bitter irony which Pilate intended. It was only a stupid, malicious travesty for which, it is implied (15 : 1–2), the Jewish leaders were responsible. It is Messiahship, pure and simple, and not even the threat of destroying the temple (14 : 58 f.) — let alone social disturbance or uprising, of which there is not a hint in Mark — which gives " the chief priests and the whole council " their handle against Jesus.

So much space has been given to the Gospel of Mark not only because of its importance in the general synoptic narrative but also because the " social outlook " of St. Mark is less generally recognized than that of St. Luke. The resulting tendency among certain writers has been to make Luke primary and to interpret the other Gospels in accordance with Luke, as understood by the student; whereas, in fact, Mark has a distinct contribution to make to our understanding of the social message of Jesus. Mark's own social sympathies are real if not pronounced; yet his portrait of Christ is distinctly not that of a social prophet or leader. Had he conceived Jesus in such terms he would not have let pass the repeated opportunity to emphasize or " interpret " this element in our Lord's teaching. Instead, he represents Jesus as primarily a religious teacher who is at the same time the Christ, the beloved Son of God, the Messiah — but Messiah in a higher sense than the contemporary Jewish leaders understood, the Messiah who came to " minister " and " to give his life a ransom for many."

§ 4

" Q." It is sufficient briefly to summarize the social teaching and point of view of the remaining sources,

since they have been made the subject of considerable study during recent years.

According to Q Jesus' works of mercy are primarily credentials of his Messiahship and proofs of the powers of the Age to Come.[1] Though socially valuable, their real importance is not found in this fact. John the Baptist is commended, not as the hero of the poor but as the prophet sent by God. The Son of Man's having " not where to lay his head " (Luke 9 : 58) may originally have been an observation upon " man's homelessness in nature "; but it is certainly understood by the author of Q as referring to Christ, in spite of the fact that it was not literally true. The assurance to the disciples, going out as missionaries, that " the laborer is worthy of his hire " (Luke 10 : 7; Matthew reads " food ") can be transformed into a social platitude only when torn from its context. The entire point of the Parable of the Friend at Midnight (11 : 5–13) is persistence in prayer (as we see from the Q-sections immediately preceding and following), not social service or succor of the needy; and the spirit of the unwilling lender of the loaves is scarcely one that Jesus would commend. There is perhaps even a touch of humor and gentle irony in it, since God is by no means so ungenerous as our neglect of prayer implies. The " extortion " of the Pharisees (11 : 39; cf. Mark 12 : 40) may have a social implication; but it is lost in the general condemnation of their scrupulous externalism in religion. The words about the sparrows (12 : 6–7) may possibly teach " the worth of the individual "; but the whole context (verses 3–5, 8–9, 11–12) im-

[1] Luke 7 : 18–23; a similar connection is to be observed in Matthew 10 : 7–8 and in the Book of Acts, 2 : 22–24 and 10 : 38–40.

plies a counsel of fearlessness in confessing Christ publicly.

Jesus' refusal to act as "a judge or a divider" (12 : 13–15) can scarcely be taken in a "social" sense, since the settlement of disputes over inheritances (as we have already noted) belonged to the courts; Jesus had no concern with such matters,[1] and the immediate "lesson" — perhaps specially needed by this particular man — is a warning against "covetousness." [2] In other words, a "social" interpretation of the situation is *rejected* in favor of a religious and moral one. Jesus was not primarily "out for social justice."

As Klausner has said of Jesus' ethical teaching as a whole (although he ignores the special circumstances of such sayings as those on anxiety addressed to the disciples as witnesses and missionaries), it is simply impracticable on the scale of a national society. We may add that it was never intended for unqualified application on such a scale. Such Franciscan precepts as we are considering apply perfectly to the little group hemmed in by a larger society, to whose welfare they make their highest contribution just in virtue of the isolation which Jesus' counsels imply; but there is no hint here of a "program" for the practical sociologist — save in the final, and truest, sense that the spread of Jesus' spirit is the hope of mankind, the substitution of a spirit of detachment, of calm trust in God, and of self-giving for others, in place of the brutal and

[1] Compare his direction to the healed leper in Mark 1 : 44, "show thyself to the priest." I follow Easton in ascribing Luke 12 : 13–15 to Q.

[2] The Parable of the Rich Fool and the warning against anxiety follow immediately in Luke, who probably preserves the original order of Q (Luke 12 : 16–31). It is to be noted that the words about anxiety in verses 6–7, 11 are also a part of the context.

domineering acquisitiveness that curses so much of human life. Far from contrasting with Mark's representation of Jesus' teaching on this point, or from requiring to be interpreted in accordance with that gospel, the social attitude of Jesus revealed in Q agrees exactly with it.[1]

The virtues commended in "the faithful and wise steward" (12 : 42) are those recognized by all the world. The parable has no more a "socialist" implication than it has a "capitalist." It is a perfectly appropriate description of the conduct required in those who are "looking for the Kingdom of God." No more is the counsel to exercise prudence in litigation (12 : 57–59) to be viewed as a bit of social legislation: it is completely conditioned by the uncertainty of justice in the courts, a contemporary fact made clear both by the New Testament and Josephus. The counsel literally taken would apply only to a bankrupt debtor trying to compromise with his creditor.[2] A purely "social" interpretation of the passage, as applying to society generally, is too puerile to be considered. Had Jesus disapproved of courts as such, or commanded his followers to abstain from all litigation, he could easily have made his meaning clear.[3]

§ 5

"L." Although not yet universally recognized, the existence of this document is now more widely accepted than at any time since B. Weiss first propounded his

[1] Although it has been argued that Mark was familiar with Q, his real independence in such a matter as this is not questioned.

[2] See Easton, *Gospel According to St. Luke*, p. 211.

[3] Cf. Paul's directions in I Corinthians 6 : 1–8.

famous solution of the problem of the composition of Luke.[1]

The social significance of the Infancy Narrative may be seen in the atmosphere of piety, humility, and aspiration which surrounded Jesus in his youth. The Magnificat expresses a hope (Luke 1 : 51–53) which Robert of Sicily is said to have remarked was wisely concealed in Latin in the monastic offices. However, the sentiment was not unique but may be paralleled from the Old Testament Psalter and the Psalms of Solomon. The " enemies " mentioned in the Benedictus (1 : 74) may be enemies of the nation or oppressors of the poor, though the natural interpretation (in the light of the Psalms of Solomon) would seem to leave the question open; they are any and all sinful antagonists and oppressors who stand in the way of a holy, righteous life of the people of the Covenant. The conditions of Jesus' birth and his manger cradle (2 : 7, 16), though they might later be taken as an example of the homelessness of the Son of Man (8 : 58, Q), are not introduced in proof of the poverty of Jesus' family (which may be questioned) but are accounted for by the fact that " there was no room for them in the inn."

John's preaching (3 : 10–14) has frequently been adduced as an evidence of Luke's (as we should say, of L's) social interest; but the directions are purely " individualistic," and were meant as guidance for his

[1] The recent works of Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (1924), and Easton, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (1926), have done much to establish the hypothesis, though there are other scholars who prefer not to use the designation "L," as it implies a document in writing. Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel* (1926), assumes that "Proto-Luke" was an expansion of Q by the addition of other material, not a combination of Q + L. In the present study I take for granted the identification of passages from L given in Easton's commentary (listed on pp. xxiii f.), which includes the Infancy Section.

converts, and so may not have been a part of his public "preaching" at all. Certainly Herod Antipas could have nothing to fear from such a message, as inciting to revolution. The "fruits of repentance" required are the virtues of generosity, unselfishness, justice, contentment, such as are frequently commended in the old Jewish literature.

The "good tidings to the poor" (4 : 18) is of course a part of the quotation from Isaiah, though taken as a whole the narrative of Jesus' visit to Nazareth (peculiar to L) contributes something to our knowledge of his interpretation of Messiahship. The "universalism" of the passage (Naaman the Syrian and the widow of Zarephath, verses 25–27) comes out in Jesus' reply to his critics, and elaborates verse 24, "No prophet is acceptable in his own country"; *i.e.*, it is not a part of his "sermon" at all, but the caustic elaboration of a retort more telling than polite. If the author of L saw in it "universalism," he was perhaps not wholly wrong; and furthermore, it may really have been the experience of rejection that in some degree led Jesus to a pronounced universalistic outlook (cf. 11 : 32, Q; 13 : 28 f., Q; Mark 12 : 9 [?]).

L's version of the Sermon on the Mount (Plain) probably gives the original form of the Beatitudes, which Matthew, following Q's version, has expanded and amplified.[1] In other words, Jesus no doubt said, "Blessed are ye poor," without adding, "in spirit." But it is not *as* poor that they are blessed, save in the degree to which their poverty has disposed them to be receptive to the blessings of the Kingdom.[2] Poverty,

[1] See Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 250 ff.
[2] Cf. Easton, *op. cit.*, p. 83 on Luke 6 : 20.

in the late Old Testament period and in much of the contemporary Jewish thought, had come to be identified with piety — a complete inversion of the popular pre-exilic notion.[1] The same is to be said of the woes on the rich, which immediately follow: in view of Jesus' pronounced judgment on the subject (Mark 10 : 23; Luke 12 : 15–21, Q) it is impossible to deny that the poverty-piety and wealth-wickedness equation current in religious thought at his time was real for him also. Taken literally, to sell all and follow Christ (if poverty and piety be truly inseparable) is not a social " program," for it spells social anarchy. Who are to be the buyers of one's goods? If all took the counsel literally — or the Beatitudes and Woes, for that matter — whence would support be forthcoming for those who had thus " forsaken all to follow " Christ? Who would be left to provide the necessaries of life for these followers? Jesus' words contain an emphasis, a prophetic, rhetorical overemphasis,[2] in consolation and likewise in warning; but they were either never meant to be taken as the permanent basis for a social order, or else they were plainly mistaken. If all were poor, who would be " the poor "? [3]

The following section on love of enemies (6: 27–38) is to be viewed similarly. Though criticized by Klausner and others as socially impracticable, the words were not produced as maxims for all society, whether Jewish or pagan, Christian or secular, but as counsels

[1] Cf. Dibelius, *Meyer-Kommentar* on James, Int., § 6; Scott, "Poverty of Spirit," in *DCG*; *Economic Background*, pp. 122 ff., 126 ff.

[2] Cf. James 5 : 1–6.

[3] The eschatological outlook (in Luke 12: 22 f.) is noticeable also in the remote parallel afforded by James 5 : 1–11, perhaps a commonplace of early Christian (and even in certain circles of Jewish) homiletic.

for the Christian individual, Jesus' disciple, living in an alien and unfriendly neighborhood, and required to endure many wrongs which — had he the power — should not be permitted anywhere in society. The ethical outlook is entirely different from that of the modern social philosopher, for the simple reason that the worlds in which Jesus and the philosopher live are sundered by a great gulf, both geographically and historically. The Golden Rule (verse 31) shows sufficiently the impossibility of making *any* rule that will cover all cases and meet all requirements. Coming after verse 30 (" Give to every one that asketh thee "), it must strike many modern students of social ethics as almost ridiculous — an ethic for beggars, for the sentimental and improvident! But, we must maintain, it was never intended to be such a rule; and as for the context it seems hardly to belong in immediate succession to verse 30 (much less the Q version in its Matthean context, Matthew 7 : 12!). The counsel may be taken as *one* method of meeting persecution, perhaps in the hope of winning the persecutor not only to a cessation of persecution but also to a life of love; and if proof is needed of the validity of this principle, one has only to scan the history of religious martyrdom for examples. It is the all but universal record of self-sacrificing love for others. But it is not a literal rule to be taken as it stands, *au pied de la lettre*. Intelligence, prudence, foresight, are involved in the highest love, quite as much as patience and liberality.[1]

The section on the anointing by a woman and the

[1] Though if men must err and fall short of this highest love, who will deny that the latter virtues are more valuable socially than the former, and ought to be the first to be cultivated, the last relinquished?

ministering women (7 : 36–8 : 3) probably comes from L and fits in appropriately, the incident of the anointing as an illustration of 7 : 34 (from Q; cf. 15 : 1–2, from L). The Parable of the Two Debtors (7 : 40–42) can hardly be taken as an exhortation to cancel all debts, but owes its point to the singularity of the lender's generosity. In a day when creditors possessed the right to send their debtors to prison (12 : 58 f.), such an action was a superb illustration of " forgiveness." Of course the whole conception of (divine) forgiveness here assumed depends upon the current Jewish idea of sin as indebtedness.

The Parable of the Good Samaritan (10 : 30–37) raises the whole notion of love to one's neighbor (Mark 12 : 28–34) to a higher level than that of contemporary Jewish ethics, according to which one's " neighbor " usually meant a fellow-Israelite.[1] Instead of answering the lawyer's question explicitly a new spirit is portrayed. The social value of this new spirit is obvious, and the parable will never cease to be inspiring. What is noteworthy is that it is not a general " social " doctrine that is taught but one that is definitely religious: it defines the spirit in which the Sacred Law is to be observed.

Jesus' frequent exhortation to avoid anxiety is beautifully illustrated in the incident in the home of Mary and Martha which immediately follows (10 : 38–42), and the lesson is continued in the short section (12 : 32 ff.) which must have followed soon after in L. " Sell that ye have and give alms " (verse 33) is, as Klausner remarks, a common Jewish exhortation.[2] A later

[1] This is disputed. Cf. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, I, 18 ff., 150 ff.; II, 35 ff.; *per contra*, Strack-Billerbeck, I, 353 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 386.

section from L (14 : 12–14) illustrates this counsel (bidding the poor to a dinner); and the exhortation to "make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness" (which seems strange in its present context, 16 : 9) states the teaching summarily.

The lord waiting upon his servants (12 : 37) either reflects Jesus' action at the Last Supper (if John 13 : 4 ff. is historical) or refers to the Messianic banquet.[1] That the parable has no social reference is clear from a comparison with 17 : 7–10, also from L, where the very opposite procedure is described.

Had Jesus been anything of a social theorist or revolutionary leader, such as Antipas suspected John of becoming, the report of Pilate's massacre of the Galileans (13 : 1–3) would not have been treated as L narrates; nor, had "L" viewed Jesus in this way, would we find the passage in its present form. Moreover, had the author of L been enough of a "socialist" to alter the form of Jesus' words — as he is sometimes suspected of doing — he surely would not have let this golden opportunity slip by; for the whole point of the report is as a matter of fact turned away from a "social" inference to a purely religious exhortation to "repentance." There is not the slightest suggestion of resentment or rebellion against flagrant injustice and brutal oppression.

The saying on "hating" one's next of kin (14 : 25 f.; cf. 12 : 49–53, L) belongs of course to the section (verses 25–35) on the difficulties of discipleship and implies a condition of "interference with devotion to Christ."[2] No one seriously thinks of finding "social" teaching in the passage.

[1] So Easton, *ad loc.* [2] Easton, *ad loc.*

Nor, so far as I am able to see, is social teaching to be found in the Parable of Dives and Lazarus (16 : 19–31). The assumption of a reversal of fortunes in the life to come (verse 25) is no more than a generalization from the current "poverty-piety" equation, and the key to the parable may be found in the Jewish maxim: "The rich help the poor in this world, but the poor help the rich in the world to come."[1] Here the principle is illustrated in its negative.

Zaccheus' practice of charity and restitution is commended (19 : 8–9) in terms that imply the same standard of righteousness as a condition of entrance into the Kingdom. On this whole point it is repeatedly evident that L represents our Lord as assuming a position which was closely in harmony with the best ethical thought of Judaism. Much of the contrast which modern readers find between Jesus' teaching concerning charity, alms, forsaking wealth, care of the poor, and the current practice of to-day, which leads to an unfounded claim of uniqueness in this respect and to the assumption that he was primarily a social reformer, is due to our common ignorance of the Jewish background. No one suspects the Rabbis of being social reformers, though the social bearing of their teaching was very important. What our Lord does is take what was an ethical commonplace in his day and set it in high relief by relating it to his doctrine of repentance and the hope of the approaching Messianic Kingdom. But the "commonplace" still remains for him, as it was for other Jewish teachers of his time and later, simply and absolutely a principle of ethics and religion, not of a new and revolutionary social philosophy. So far as I am

[1] Quoted by Plummer, on Luke 16 : 9.

capable of seeing, the recognition of this fact detracts nothing from Jesus' greatness as a " teacher of the way of God in truth " nor from the glory of Judaism as the mother of Christianity. Instead, it would seem to place both religions upon a definitely higher level, as uncompromisingly ethical religions, than the rank and file of the world's creeds.

The Parable of the Pounds (Minas) in Luke 19 : 12–27 is probably L's variant tradition of the Matthean Parable of the Talents.[1] Though it doubtless contains a definite " lesson in stewardship," the author of L understands it to refer to the right use of the interval before the Parousia (note Luke's introduction, verse 11). If pressed for a further explanation, the author of L would no doubt have referred to Jesus' teaching concerning the right use of possessions, of which he had already given a number of examples. Here again the ethical and eschatological elements are inextricably interwoven.

The passage concerning " purse, wallet, and sword " (" two swords ") in 22 : 35–38 goes back evidently to a particular occasion and cannot be taken as encouraging or justifying " militarism." Matthew may have known the tradition, for he gives (26 : 52) Jesus' rebuke to Peter when that disciple drew and used his sword — where Luke (L) recounts the healing of the high priest's servant's ear (22 : 51). Evidently the disciples were armed at the time of Jesus' arrest; but it is reading far too much into our passage to assume that Jesus and his followers were launching an armed revolt against the civil or religious authorities in Jerusalem. The weap-

[1] So Streeter and Easton. For another possible variant in the *Gospel According to the Hebrews*, see Streeter, pp. 282 f.

ons — after all perhaps only long knives used by the peasants — were too few; and Judas' company was not a military unit (verses 52 f.).

The charges brought against Jesus at the trial before Pilate (23 : 2–3, 5, 14) no doubt aroused the latter's suspicions and explain his consent to the crucifixion (verse 25). Here again, however, L offers no hint that the charges were justified, or that Jesus' *social* teaching was of such a nature as to " stir up the people." Nor has L represented Jesus as " teaching throughout all Judea " (verse 5); the journey to Jerusalem came very late in L (18 : 31), unless " all Judea " = Jewry = Palestine. As in Mark and Matthew (who nevertheless imply some such charges as these, since Pilate begins with the question of the claim to kingship), the accusation is a complete travesty of Jesus' real work and teaching.

If the document L is really as primary as we suppose, and as trustworthy as recent work on the synoptic problem seems to indicate, we have every reason to think that Jesus' teaching was concerned to a greater extent with the practice of charity, alms-giving, and care of the poor than Mark or Q represents, and that it was, in this sense, a " social gospel." At the same time this document emphasizes, perhaps even more than Q and certainly more than Mark, what we may call with Klausner " the Jewishness of Jesus." There are, I believe, more contacts between the teaching of Jesus according to L and the Rabbinic teaching of his time and later than between Jesus' teaching as given in Q and that of the Rabbis. At the same time the controversy between Jesus and the Pharisees is not slighted, and the later attitude of the Christians in

Palestine to their religious opponents may sometimes be read between the lines. A greater interest in the conditions of the present (*e.g.*, concern for the poor, and for women and children), and perhaps less in the Parousia, is to be discerned in L than in Q. It is this concern with present conditions that leads L to emphasize Jesus' criticism of the rich. Luke's economic interests, like his beauty of style, are chiefly those of his source L; and if L is a fair record of Jesus' teaching, we have to reckon with the fact that in Christ's mind godliness and poverty, ungodliness and wealth went hand in hand — which was the view of many of his contemporaries. In brief, L gives us more of the social emphasis in Jesus' teaching than either Q or Mark (in spite of Mark's sympathies, already noted); at the same time this emphasis is in no respect severed from ethics or religion, and there is no hint of a revolutionary program beyond the charges brought against Jesus before Pilate — charges which the author of L does nothing to justify and which he, like Mark, no doubt explained as the result of priestly " envy."

§ 6

St. Luke (including " Proto-Luke "). If, as seems clear from what has preceded, Luke's representation of our Lord's social teaching is largely taken over from L, it must still be remembered that the author of our Third Gospel is responsible for the incorporation of that document in his narrative. That is, Luke assumed that L gave a reliable account of what " Jesus began both to do and to teach," and he bears the normal historian's responsibility for his choice of material. And it may be gathered from the way in which Luke uses this

source, not merely quoting it but weaving it into his narrative, that his views and interests very largely coincided with those of L. The case is of course strengthened if, as both Streeter and Taylor maintain,[1] the author of " Proto-Luke " was Luke himself, the author of the finished Gospel, though the proof of the hypothesis is unnecessary for our present purpose. The coincidence of Luke's interests with those of L may be observed in the " special " material Luke has added over and above that ordinarily attributed to Mark, Q, and L. For example, John's reproof of Herod the tetrarch " for all the evil things which Herod had done " (3 : 19; *vide supra*, *sub* § 3); " the authority and glory " of the world's kingdoms belong to Satan (4 : 6, perhaps an apocalyptic commonplace); the Parable of the Unwilling Guests (14 : 15–24, where the point lies in verse 21, which illustrates the counsel of verse 13, which is from L); the Parable of the Unfaithful Steward, with its appended " morals " (16 : 1–13, where verse 9 is from L, according to Easton, and 13 is from Q; the clue to the meaning is found in 12 : 33, from L);[2] the Pharisees " lovers of money " (16 : 14); and the Parable of the Unjust Judge (18 : 1–7), where the teaching is plainly perseverance in prayer (18 : 1).[3]

These passages, taken with the fact of Luke's use of L, suffice to indicate that Luke's interests and those of L are practically identical. Although the limits of L cannot be closely defined, and even more of Luke's special matter may have to be assigned to that source

[1] Streeter, p. 218; Taylor, p. 210.

[2] Cf. the Talmudic Baraitha, B. *Bathra*, 11 *a*, quoted by Klausner, *op. cit.*, p. 386. The doctrine of the stewardship of possessions was not unknown in ancient Judaism.

[3] Is " faith " in verse 8 to be understood in the sense of persevering prayer?

— or perhaps less of it, for that matter — the fact that Luke used L at all is enough to guarantee his acquiescence in its representation of Jesus' teaching.

§ 7

St. Matthew (including M[1]). The editorial matter in our First Gospel, including the additional source which Streeter and others suppose it to incorporate, is if studied by itself scarcely sufficient to suggest a consistent social teaching on the part of Jesus. (Here again, however, the incorporation of source material is not without significance.)

The narrative of chapter 2, the Wise Men, the Flight into Egypt, and the Return, might be thought to express an anti-royalist motive, or at least to reflect the popular unrest during the elder Herod's latter years. (We know that such unrest existed and broke forth openly after the king's death.[2]) But this is only a conjecture and cannot be pressed. There is nothing anti-royalist about the Genealogy in chapter 1, or the type of expectation presupposed in the Gospel.

The Matthean Beatitudes (5 : 3–12) are notoriously non-social, in contrast to the Lucan version; though the quotation in verse 5 (from Psalm 37 : 11) no doubt reflects a " social " (but not necessarily political) type of Messianism — perhaps comparable to that in Luke, chapters 1 f.

The exhortation to abstain from oaths (5 : 33–37), which Klausner and others have criticized as impracti-

[1] Undoubtedly this is the most difficult to distinguish of all the evangelic sources. No more than a general recognition of its existence either as a "source" or as a definite body of tradition, is implied here.

[2] Cf. *Economic Background*, pp. 47–49; Josephus, *Ant.*, XVII, 11, 2.

cal in organized civil society, tallies with the incident of the half-shekel (17 : 24–27), where the tax is paid under protest and in order to avoid " cause for stumbling." The amount was too small to be viewed as extortion; and Jesus' attitude, if pressed, would do away entirely with regular support of the temple. Most likely the incident reflects (as do several other passages in Matthew) the conditions of the early church in Palestine : it was a real question among Christians in the period between 30 and 70 A.D. whether or not they were to continue supporting the " orthodox " worship in Jerusalem. If this be the case, perhaps the counsel concerning oaths, and the teaching of non-resistance, as well as certain other counsels,[1] must also be read in the light of a time when Jesus' followers were " reproached " and " persecuted " and " scourged in the synagogues " (5 : 11; 23 : 34; etc.). They reflect the outlook of a persecuted religious minority, and cannot at all be understood as parts of a system of philosophical ethics. Remove the conditions, transform the minority into a majority, and the situation considerably alters; though one might assume that in a genuinely Christian society much of the minority-ethics would not need to be abandoned but would then become more " practical " and workable than hitherto.

The saying, " Lay not up treasures upon earth " (6 : 19, possibly Q?), well reflects the attitude of our Lord revealed in the other sources (cf. esp. Luke 12 : 32–34, from L), viz., his complete unconcern with earthly wealth. This was no doubt partly conditioned by his expectation of the immediate coming of the Kingdom, though in verses 24*b*–34 a broader reason is given.

[1] *E.g.*, the words on celibacy in 19 : 10–12; see parallels in the *agrapha*.

The " Comfortable Word " of the evangelic invitation, which Sanday once called " the heart of the Gospel," " Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest . . ." (11 : 28–30), has been interpreted by reference to the scribal " burdens " (23 : 4), to the economic yoke that galled the neck of the Palestinian peasantry, and to the " sorrows of earth " to which every *Menschenkind* is heir. If a choice must be made, one can scarcely avoid preferring the last interpretation. It is Jesus' whole teaching, whole attitude, the whole new personal relation in which he set men to God and to himself, as contrasted with the scribal-Pharisaic-legalistic outlook which he constantly criticized, that sums itself up in these words. And although the saying may echo the concluding verses of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus 51 : 23 ff.), there is no very great reason to suppose that our Lord could not have been familiar with this passage and have quoted it, as he quoted more than one Old Testament passage, in reference to himself and his message.

The Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard (20 : 1–16) and the Parable or Allegory of the Last Judgment (25 : 31–46) are frequently cited as outstanding examples of Jesus' social teaching; they form the most important contribution of Matthew's special material (or source) to our knowledge of it. The former illustrates the Marcan saying, " Many shall be last that are first, and first that are last," [1] and cannot conceivably be cited as the setting forth of an economic program,[2] though it reflects a view of " work and wages " natural

[1] Mark 10 : 31, parallel to Matthew 19 : 30, immediately preceding, repeated in 20 : 16.

[2] Cf. *Economic Background*, pp. 130 ff.

to one for whom the whole economic process is of little interest and no concern; while the latter expresses consummately, in majestic symbolism derived from apocalyptic, the very spirit of Jesus' ethics. If it contains the purest "social" teaching in the Gospels, it is at the same time completely "eschatological" in its outlook and brings to a climax a whole series of apocalyptic parables which Matthew has grouped together as Jesus' discourse on the Mount of Olives.[1] Once more the ethics is commonplace Jewish ethics,[2] but it is given a new setting and a new imperative in Jesus' parable: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these *my brethren*, even these least [it is the "Son of Man" Messiah "in his glory" who is thus referring to the poor among the children of men], ye did it unto me" (verse 40). The parable might be taken as a final statement of our Lord's whole view of social relationships. The ethical and the eschatological factors are completely fused; here is found the *ne plus ultra* in the complete ethicizing of apocalyptic eschatology; and the practice of "charity," viewed *sub specie æternitatis*, is made the simple but supreme qualification for eternal life, for it means sharing in that divine and eternal love which is God's own, and the Messiah's, for all His children and "brethren." This divine *caritas*, which is the heart of Christian ethics and ought also to be regulative in Christian theology, is incontestably Jesus' teaching. Apart from this ultimate principle the New Testament ethics remain an enigma, and the origin of the idea underlying not only this passage but also

[1] Matthew 24 : 3; compare the other "discourse on a mountain," 5 : 1 ff.

[2] Cf. *Pea* 1 : 1; *Aboth* 1 : 5 *a*; Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, 3. Aufl., pp. 423 ff. An excursus on the subject is promised for the fourth volume of the Strack-Billerbeck *Kommentar*.

others (*e.g.*, Mark 10 : 45; Matthew 7 : 20 ff.; 8 : 17) is left without explanation. The deepest note in the primitive Christian interpretation of Messianism is sounded here — as elsewhere in the Gospels, in Acts, in Paul (*e.g.*, Philippians 2 : 5–8), while the Epistle to Hebrews and the Johannine literature presuppose it in their further interpretation of Messiahship as High Priesthood and Redemptive Incarnation. In the light of Jesus' Messiahship the old ethics of "loving-kindness," of alms-giving, care of the sick and poor and imprisoned, took on new meaning; and this is undoubtedly the meaning the Gospel-writers saw in the repeated sayings of Christ, which they record, concerning alms-giving, "treasure in heaven," care of the poor, and other "good works." That the virtues were not unknown in current Jewish teaching is enough to dispose of the *Interimsethik* interpretation; though at the same time it must be recognized that the whole framework of eschatology is implied. The time is short, "the Judge standeth before the doors" (James 5 : 9); *therefore*, the "ethical imperative" of those virtues which are *already* recognized as supreme now becomes absolute and exclusive.

The saying, "They that take the sword . . ." (26 : 52), has been dealt with above (under L). Finally, Matthew's description of Joseph of Arimathea as "rich" (27 : 57) may have some significance, since Matthew represents the magi as offering gold to the infant Christ (2 : 11) and the disciples as forbidden to take gold on their missionary journey — perhaps a needless caution (10 : 9; omitted by parallels). Gold is not mentioned in the other Gospels;[1] one may sup-

[1] James 2 : 2, 5 : 3, refer to the metal.

pose it was practically unknown among the peasantry and was thought to be appropriate only "in kings' houses," in the temple of God, and among the (very exceptional) "rich." Silver was more common, while the ordinary currency was of bronze or copper.

§ 8

In theory, we should pursue our study further, taking up the remaining sources, *i.e.*, the remaining New Testament writings, which reflect Jesus' teaching with varying degrees of fullness and accuracy, the *agrapha*,[1] and the variant readings of the MSS.[2] But enough has been said, I believe (at least in what professes to be no more than an outline of method), to make it clear that in studying the social teaching of Jesus we must take up the several documents one by one, and examine them in the light not only of their use by the Evangelists but also — and especially — in the light of the views and interests of those who wrote them and, still earlier, of those who handed down the oral tradition they reflect. It is obvious, I think, that the nearest approach to "social teaching" in the modern sense is to be found in L; at the same time no document (not even Matthew, or his source M if we follow Streeter) does more to represent the "Jewishness" of Jesus' outlook.[3] And although Streeter's statement, even were we unwilling to go all the way in accepting the "four-document hypothesis," must be taken at full

[1] *E.g.*, the incident of the rich young man in the *Gospel According to the Hebrews;* the mason (parallel to Matthew 12 : 10); etc.

[2] *Eg.*, Luke 6 : 4, in *D.*

[3] Matthew, or M, emphasizes — perhaps unconsciously — the limitations of that outlook; L gives it in its full vigor and capacity, and more sympathetically.

value, "Much that occurs in a single Gospel is as likely to be genuine as what occurs in two or in all three," [1] still one or other of the evangelic documents must be taken as giving a better-focused and more lifelike picture of the Teacher and his teaching than the others. Especially so if — as we have seen reason to believe in the case of Mark — that picture is presupposed by certain elements in the others. Although L has by no means yet received the full treatment which is required (particularly its suggestion of strained relations between our Lord and the authorities, and not merely with the scribes and Pharisees), we may go so far as to infer that its tone is not altogether due to the social condition of those who handed down the oral tradition upon which it is based, or to the social outlook of its author, but that it goes back to Jesus himself. The Jesus whom it portrays is one who moves easily among "the poor," who blesses them, since their poverty is in some sense wealth "in the Kingdom of heaven," who urges his followers to abandon the service of Mammon (*i.e.*, money-getting), sell their possessions and give alms, and who not only displays a complete indifference to the claims of organized industrial life (either from the point of view of "labor" or of "capital") but offers as a substitute therefor an utter and profound concern with the spiritual and ethical condition of men. Jesus is primarily a religious teacher, not a social reformer; his ethics is the ethics of religion, and his religion is Jewish to the core. By this I do not mean that it was incapable of extension beyond the bounds of Judaism — all later history would disprove such an assertion, and his own "universalism" disproves it; nor that the ethics of

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 270.

contemporary Judaism suffice to explain his teaching, or to account for him. I mean that the natural approach, and the only reasonable approach, to his teaching is by way of Judaism (not one trace of Hellenism, *e.g.*, is to be found in his teaching as represented in the earliest documents); and that there is permanent and profound significance in the fact that the Son of God when he became man (to use the familiar theological language) was " born under the law," " of the seed of David according to the flesh " (Galatians 4 : 4; Romans 1 : 3). It does little honor to the Lord Christ to discount or discredit the Jewish religion or ethics of his time, the mother-faith of which Christianity was born. And if in the end we fail to discover in Jesus of Nazareth a social prophet with a message like that of modern humanitarian idealism, it need not necessarily follow that Jesus is unworthy to fill the place assigned to him in Christian devotion, or that his teaching is not the profoundest socially applicable gospel the world knows. He was a prophet, but more than a prophet. And his gospel, even under the limitations of a particular outlook (chiefly the apocalyptic-eschatological), contains more, far more, than an efficient program for present-day social progress. It is this " more " which social idealism itself requires in order to achieve its goal : viz., the religious motive, man conceived as the child of God and potential heir of His Kingdom, not man the economic " animal "; human toil and the burden of man's despair lightened by the hope of eternal life; men's mixed and complicated motives disentangled and unified by a love which may, perhaps, " move the sun in heaven and all the stars," but which as a matter of fact comes to most of us out of the ancient gospel of divine, redeeming Love.

OUTCROPPINGS OF THE JEWISH MESSIANIC HOPE

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I speak of "outcropping" because of my belief that the Messianic hope from the first was an underlying stratum rather than a field of thought open to the eyes of the world. It was cherished by all the faithful in Israel, learned and experienced leaders and common people alike, but was not likely to be given any detailed literary expression.

The definite expectation was brought forth and given shape by great souls, primarily men of world-wide sympathy and of splendid vision into the future, and only secondarily Hebrew patriots; though patriots they were, from full conviction and of unswerving devotion. It was the concrete embodiment and summary of the noblest and truest philosophy of history that the ancient world ever saw. The modern world has not done justice to it; partly because of an inadequate estimate of the Hebrew civilization, partly because an ancient misinterpretation and alteration of the first and greatest elaboration of the doctrine has served to keep the truth hidden from sight.

As I have shown in a work which is now ready for the press, the Second Isaiah [1] was the author of the specifi-

[1] By this term I designate the author of Isaiah 34–66 (excepting of course chapters 36–39). I have demonstrated — as I believe, with finality — that all these poems are the work of a single hand. I recognize as later additions 58 : 13 f. and its sister passage 56 : 2–6, also a few single verses already pronounced secondary by other commentators. Aside from these, there are the few interpretative and fatally misleading glosses now to be mentioned.

cally *Messianic* doctrine, and his work, written about 400 B.C., was the fountainhead of the streams of thought and literary tradition which we designate by this term. He wrote in 45 : 1 f.:

> Thus saith the Lord, to his Anointed, | to
> him whose right hand I hold,
> To trample nations before him, | and
> loosen the loins of kings;
> To open for him the portals, | and the
> gates shall not be closed:
> I myself will go before thee, | and I
> will make straight the ways;
> I will shatter the doors of bronze, | and
> sunder the bolts of iron.

Here for the first time in Hebrew literature the word *mašīăch*, Messiah, is applied to the coming one, long promised, under whose leadership the new age is to be inaugurated. Verse 4 adds:

> For the sake of my servant Jacob, | and
> Israel mine elect,
> I call to thee by thy name, | entitle thee,
> while yet thou knowest me not.

The "title" referred to is the one just given, *the Anointed.* It appears again, virtually, in 61 : 1 ff., where the same designated leader and champion, awaiting the day of his manifestation to Israel, says in one of his soliloquies:

> The spirit of Yahwè my Lord is upon me, | for-
> asmuch as the Lord has anointed me,
> Has sent me to bring glad tidings to the
> lowly, | to give aid to the broken-hearted.

In another soliloquy, introducing the poem which constitutes chapter 49, he presents himself as the same half-trained, inquiring novice of whom his Master had said in 45 : 4: "as yet thou knowest me not." Though the Anointed One, he is sure neither of the scope of his mission nor of his own power to perform it.

> I said, I have toiled in vain, | I have spent
> my strength for nothing at all.

In the following verse, however, he declares, in terms very similar to those employed in 45 : 4 (quoted above), the commission originally given him by Yahwè:

> To bring back Jacob to him, | and to collect
> for him Israel.

The magnanimous, sympathetic attitude of the great deliverer toward the weakness of mankind, and his assigned part in the restoration of the world to Yahwè, are set forth especially in chapters 42, 45, 49, and 61.

This picture of the Servant-Messiah [1] is defaced at its most important point, and in fact ruined, by the interpolation of the name "Cyrus" in 45 : 1; a proceeding prepared for and given effective support by the insertion of the previous verse, 44 : 28, containing the same name. This operation on the text of the prophet, undertaken in the third century B.C., was still further reinforced by the insertion of the parallel names, *Babel–Kasdim*, "Babylonia-Chaldea," in three different

[1] The figure of the "Servant" is purposely — and very skilfully — made elusive by the prophet. He is writing idealistic poetry, not making concrete predictions. He must employ the word in more than one connotation, while at the same time the several aspects of the idea shade off into one another. The use of the one term, in a highly significant way, for both the personified people and their future leader gives the latter a peculiarly representative character.

places, 43 : 14, 48 : 14, 20, creating an apparent Babylonian background for the prophecy. In each of the three passages the inserted names (as also the name in 45 : 1) are forbidden both by the meter and by the requirement of the immediate context. These matters are fully discussed in the work mentioned above. It suffices here to point out the fact that the prophet's new application of the term "Messiah" was unjustly taken away from him after having been in circulation for a century or more.

The expectation of a Coming One was not new, to be sure There was the promise in the Pentateuch, Deuteronomy 18 : 15 ff., which, while not at all "Messianic," nor applying only to a single "prophet," was certain to be interpreted frequently in the latter way. Far more important was the cherished hope of a scion of David's line, based especially on II Samuel 7. This we know to have been deeply influential. The Second Isaiah, usually avoiding concrete shapes and historical allusions, gives his prediction a clear connection with the Davidic expectation in 55 : 3–5. This naturally implied a *king*, a term and an idea which the prophet studiously avoids; so also, though not necessarily, did the designation "anointed." The prophet does not seem anywhere to visualize specifically royal activities, nor even to think of a Hebrew *political* entity as a feature of the new age. His mind is always on something greater.[1]

[1] There is abundant evidence that the teaching of Second Isaiah sank deep into the mind and heart of his people. Even after the disturbing interpolations had been made, the true meaning of his poems was preserved. The Targums recognize no trace of Cyrus except in the passage where his name is twice mentioned (not at all, for instance, in 41 : 2 ff., 46 : 11, or 48 : 14); and in Psalm 107 : 2–16, Isaiah 45 : 1 ff. is interpreted figuratively.

As the expectation became more deeply rooted among the people it was inevitable that emphasis should be laid on the sterner qualities and scenes of the restorer and the long-expected restoration. The great catastrophe, and the great conqueror, were the conspicuous features. "King" was a dangerous term for a Jewish writer to employ openly, however. Daniel's "man," coming in the clouds of heaven, 7 : 13, was a coinage of a very different character; and thenceforward "*The* Man" (in the Greek translations, in both O.T. and N.T., "the Son of Man") was a definite and recognized Messianic title; better, because more cryptic.

The Messianic *king*, however, was always in the background. We have striking illustration of this fact in the so-called Psalms of Solomon, dating from the middle of the last century B.C. By singular good fortune they were not lost, like so many of the writings of their time, though it was not among the Jews that they were preserved. No one would ever be led, by the study of the seventeenth and eighteenth Psalms of this little collection, to suppose that the Messianic doctrine was new to the poet or his readers. He is obviously dealing with long-familiar ideas and expressions. He has no need to explain anything, nor even to cite the older scriptures. What is more, the later of these canonical writings, in particular the poems of the Psalter, contain plenty of material closely parallel to that presented in the two "Solomonic" poems, only less definite of application. I believe that the number of such outspoken utterances as these last was very small, for a reason which is plain to see.

The Messianic doctrine was a thing to be cherished in private, not proclaimed in public — until the time

when it should be unmistakably evident, not merely to the excitable and fickle throng, but primarily to the scholars and official heads who "knew the law" (John 7 : 49), that the Son of David himself was among them, ready to restore the kingdom to Israel. Thus hopes of liberation have been quietly held for centuries by many an oppressed nation, here and there in the world. In the case of Israel's hope, there was every reason for caution in giving it expression. The Jews were a vassal people, subject successively to the Achæmenids (with a Persian governor in Palestine), the Seleucids, and the Romans. Under the definite promise of God through his prophets, they were accustomed to look eagerly for the day when they should proclaim a king of their own, rise in successful rebellion, and drive the foreign oppressors from the holy city. Under these circumstances the hope was obviously a source of danger, to the individual and to his people, when paraded in the streets. Any open talk or unequivocal writing in regard to the "Anointed King of the Jews" was sure to be reported, and likely to be construed as treasonable. Every fiery patriot had his enemy, who might bring word to the foreign office: "I heard this man say thus and thus, and many were stirred by him to plot insurrection." Every company of patriots had its hotheads, who might do or say what would result in an uproar at a time when quiet was most desirable. It is perfectly typical of the situation as it had existed in Judea ever since the Persian kings when the chief priests and Pharisees are represented as saying to the Sanhedrim: "If we let the man go on in this way, all will believe on him, and the Romans will come and destroy our sacred place and our nation" (John 11 : 47 f.).

The influence of popular poetry and song has been recognized universally as potent and enduring beyond all other means of stirring the hearts of men and giving an ever increasing definiteness to their common feeling. The hymns of a church go deeper than its sermons. The nation whose youth sing warlike songs has the germs of battle in its very blood. The ideas enshrined in oft-repeated verse are those which persist and spread like leaven. There is no need to think here of the poems of a Tyrtæus or a Cullinus, or of the famous *muwaththibāt* which stirred up the Arabian "war of Basūs" of forty years' duration (Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 47), or of a hundred other celebrated instances; if the ideas are such as can lay hold of the populace, and the literary form is fitted to make its peculiar appeal, there is in every composition of this class a potentiality which no wise man will ignore. The past history of the Hebrew nation might well make its foreign rulers wary. The accusation of Jerusalem in Ezra 4 : 15, 19, though spiteful, was not exaggerated: "This city is a rebellious city, and hurtful unto kings and provinces, and they have moved sedition within it of old time. . . . This city of old hath made insurrection against kings, and rebellion and sedition have been made therein." The triumphant uprising of the Maccabees was a sufficient lesson, and no high-sounding words that might give encouragement to a similar effort could safely be permitted at any time. Both Jew and Gentile knew this; each understood what he had to fear, and in what way the embers of the ever smoldering fire could be made to blaze. Even such comparatively mild utterances as the seventeenth and eighteenth of the Psalms of Solomon would scarcely

be heard with indifference by either friend or foe, while the more fiery outbursts — and such there must have been — were best read in private, to a circle of eager listeners, passed about from hand to hand and from place to place, and then destroyed. This, we may be sure, was the fate of many compositions of the sort, for the Jews were not less prudent than others, and knew the risk of a premature outbreak.

Because of our sins wicked men are over us,
They have assaulted us, driven us
forth; . . .
But thou, O God, wilt cast them down, destroy
their seed from the land,
Raising up against them a foe from
our own race. . . .
Behold, Lord, and raise up for thy people
their king, the son of David,
At the time which thou, God, hast appointed,
To hold sway over Israel, thy servant.
Gird him with strength to shatter the
wicked rulers,
Cleansing Jerusalem from the Gen-
tiles who trample it to destruction;
In wisdom and righteousness to drive out the
evil men from our inheritance,
Crushing their arrogance like the vessels
of the potter,
Shattering all their substance with a
rod of iron. . . .
He will force the foreign peoples to serve un-
der his yoke,
And will glorify the Lord in the sight
of all the earth.

Such words as these (Psalms of Solomon 17 : 6, 8, 9, 23–26, 32) might be ignored by the governor, or smiled at good-humoredly, or made the pretext for extortion and cruelty, if nothing worse. In any case, they could not fail to do their work, if they were allowed to circulate.

These poems are remarkable for their apparently definite allusion to contemporary events (especially 2 : 30 and 17 : 14). If the allusion is to Pompey's death, as in every way seems probable, the conjecture is obvious that the immediate circumstances were such that an outburst of national feeling, amounting to sedition, could be made with comparative safety. It is quite as likely, nevertheless, that the *peculiar* features of the poems are due to the personality of the poet rather than to the political situation. The *standing* features are more important; and these, in the two Messianic chapters, are in the main identical with what we find in Second Isaiah, and in not a few Psalms of the Hebrew Psalter. As has already been said, the picture of the future drawn by the great prophet and accepted by his followers was religious, not political. The Messiah was to save the world, not merely the Jews. The fateful separation, the final purification, which his advent and initial conquering career were destined to bring about were not conceived primarily in national terms. Those doomed to perish in the great catastrophe were the wicked, Jews and Gentiles alike, the enemies of Yahwè and the true faith; the multitude of "the rescued" included throngs from every race and nation on earth.

That this was the nature of the hope cherished by the rank and file of the enlightened men of Israel, the

Psalms testify. In the great hymn collection, widely familiar for generations, can be heard the voice of the multitude: see 65 : 3; 72 : 17; 76 : 9 ("all the humble of *the earth*"); 86 : 9; 145 : 14–18; 146 : 7 f., to mention only a few passages of the many. There were of course less liberal individuals, though their utterances have very rarely been preserved;[1] but never a narrow-hearted *people*, nor even — as far as the surviving literature shows — a period of their history in which the narrower view prevailed.

It is true that the constant presence of the Messianic expectation in the late Persian and Greek periods has not been recognized in recent years; mainly because of the fatal misinterpretation of Second Isaiah. For example, König's Hebrew Lexicon, s.v. *mašīăch*, has: "Der zukünftige Retter erst in Henoch 48 : 10." Others frequently, *e.g.*, Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 221, have declared Enoch 48 : 10 and 52 : 4 interpolations; but see on the contrary Thayer-Grimm, s.v. χριστός. As for the Psalter, there is a tendency at the present day to see in its poems the verses of minor occasions rather than purely religious poetry. Thus we read in Jackson-Lake's *Beginnings of Christianity*, 353, in a comment on Psalm 2: "The Psalm seems to reflect an actual historical situation." Not so; nor, I believe, do any of the Psalms. Our hymn-writers of modern times, in whatever land, write with imagination, with idealistic art, and the Hebrew poets were not inferior in this regard. The inferiority, so far as it exists, is in the other direction.

[1] Psalms of Solomon 17 : 32 (which we perhaps interpret more harshly than was intended) sounds like an echo of Isaiah 60 : 12 — which is rightly pronounced by all recent commentators an interpolation, utterly out of keeping with the poem in which it stands.

The subject is far too great to be considered here. I would only remark, in passing, that the picture of Yahwè, the God of the whole earth, accompanied by his Anointed One, "whose right hand I hold" (Isaiah 45 : 1), was constantly before the eyes of the Jewish people in the last centuries B.C. It appears clearly and definitely in such passages as Psalms 2 : 2; 89 : 27 f.; 110 : 1 ff.; Enoch 105 : 2, and in the phrase occurring in a marvelously eloquent poem dating from the latter part of the fourth century B.C., Habakkuk 3 : 13 *a*:

> Thou art come forth for the rescue of thy people, | for rescue, with thine Anointed One.[1]

These passages, along with many others which are only less clear and definite, tell a consistent story. There is no stereotyped form of allusion to the Coming One, though his activities are always depicted in about the same way. In Malachi 3 : 1–4 (fourth century?), for instance, he is termed "the Messenger of the Covenant, whom you are wishing for." If we possessed more of the literature of which our Old Testament is a fragment, we should doubtless find in it numerous other allusions like the preceding. Nevertheless, as was said at the outset, the Messianic hope was not a thing to be often and explicitly paraded in public.

Many scholars have remarked upon the striking resemblance which these Messianic Psalms of Solomon bear to a group of early Christian hymns, namely, those contained in the first two chapters of Luke's Gospel. These hymns form part of a document which,

[1] There is no other way of interpreting the Hebrew as it stands, and the reading is perfectly clear and the construction regular. The ancient versions generally (and some modern versions) try to make the particle *'eth* mean something else, while many scholars would emend the text.

as I have shown elsewhere, was originally composed in Hebrew, and was translated by Luke into Greek; a beautifully conceived and highly poetic narrative of the birth and early childhood of Jesus, the work of a master of literary art. The poems were written for their present context, and never existed apart from it. The metrical form is easily recognizable in the Greek translation, and can generally be restored with sufficient exactness in the original language. The underlying ideas are precisely those of the Hebrew poems of the preceding century, and the verbal resemblances are just such as would be expected. The two chapters are full of poetry, for not only the rhapsodies of Mary, Zachariah, and Simeon, but also the several angelic utterances, are couched in metrical form. I have elsewhere attempted to demonstrate this, and to restore the original Hebrew. It is of course all "Messianic," in one way or another, but it is only necessary to cite here the longer and more characteristic examples. The address of the angel to Zachariah, 1 : 13–17, announces the Herald of the Messiah in lines based directly on Malachi 3 : 1, 23 f. (4 : 5 f.), passages which were not only treated Messianically in the popular interpretation — as this use of them proves — but were also intended thus by their author himself (see below).

Fear thou not, Zachariah, | for granted is
thy petition;
Thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, | and
thou shalt name him John.
Thou shalt have joy and gladness, | and many
shall rejoice in his birth.
For he shall be great in the service of the Lord; |
neither wine nor strong drink shall he drink;

And he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, | even
from the womb of his mother.
Many of the children of Israel | shall he turn
to the Lord their God;
And he shall go forth before him | in the spirit
and power of Elijah,
To turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, |
and the stubborn to be right-minded;
To prepare for the Lord a people made ready.

The annunciation to Mary, verses 30–33, 35–37, is filled with the phrases long associated with the Coming One. The resemblance to the preceding annunciation is as close, in both form and content, as the difference between divine king and human herald could permit.

Fear thou not, Mary, | for thou hast found
favor with God.
Behold, thou shalt conceive and bear a son, |
and thou shalt name him Jesus.
He himself shall be great, | and shall be called
the Son of the Highest,
And the Lord God shall give unto him | the
throne of David his father.
He shall rule the house of Jacob forever, |
his kingdom shall have no end.

And then, in answer to Mary's question:

The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, | the
power of the Most High shall envelop thee;
Wherefore he who is begotten thus holy | shall be
called the Son of God.
And behold, thy kinswoman Elizabeth, | she also
has conceived a son in her age;
It is now the sixth month with her | who had
been reputed barren.
For naught is impossible with God.

Elizabeth's greeting to Mary, verses 42–45, an inspired utterance (verse 41), is also in metrical form, and her designation of the unborn Messiah as "my Lord" sounds like a reminiscence of Psalm 110 : 1, and such it probably was. It is in the Magnificat (verses 46–55), however, that the resemblance to the older Messianic poems begins to be felt most distinctly. The meter this time is not the more common form, with three beats to each half-verse, but the "lyric" mode,[1] in which the beats, or accents, are three in the first member and two in the second.

My soul utters praise to the Lord, | and my
spirit exults||
In God my saviour, who regarded | his lowly
handmaid.||
For behold, henceforth shall call me blessed |
all generations.||
Great things has done for me the Almighty, |
whose name is holy, ||
And whose mercy is from age to age | upon
those who fear him. ||
He showed the might of his arm, he scattered the
proud | in the thoughts of their heart; ||
Princes he cast down from their thrones, | and
the humble he exalted; ||
The hungry he filled with good things, and
the rich | he sent away empty. ||
He has taken up the cause of Israel his servant, |
remembering to show mercy, ||
As he promised to our fathers, to Abraham |
and his seed forever. ||

[1] This is the meter, very frequently employed in the Old Testament, which has very inappropriately been termed the *qīnā*. I have discussed its true character in a work which I hope to publish soon.

In the Greek text of Westcott and Hort, both the Magnificat of Mary and the Benedictus of Zachariah are printed to a considerable extent in uncial characters, indicating citations of the Old Testament text, and both poems are commonly described as "a tissue of quotations." This is incorrect, however, and gives a false impression. In composing the Magnificat the poet had in mind, very naturally, the song of Hannah, and the resemblance of her situation to that of Mary. Accordingly Luke 1 : 48 contains a reminiscence of the words of Hannah in I Samuel 1 : 11, varied to produce a metrical line.[1] Verse 50 quotes Psalm 103 (102) : 17; not verbally, however, but in substance only. Aside from these two phrases, the poem contains neither quotation nor distinct reminiscence of any Old Testament passage.[2] The language of Hebrew religious literature and exhortation is used, of course; no other could be employed. In the Benedictus, verse 76 contains a plain allusion to Malachi 3 : 1 (by no means to the LXX, be it noted, but to the Hebrew !), and in verse 79 the phrase *ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθήμενοι* is taken from Psalm 107 (106) : 10. The poem begins, moreover, with the words of an oft-repeated benediction. Otherwise, the poem contains no scriptural quotation or allusion. Since the language is Hebrew, the idioms also are Hebrew.

The poems of these two chapters are no machine-made compositions; they deal with long-familiar

[1] Luke 1 : 15, *οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐ μὴ πίῃ*, in the annunciation to Zachariah, may possibly be another reminiscence of this same verse; in that case, the wording shows that the citation was not from the Greek (as often stated), but from the original Hebrew, now lost from our Massoretic text.

[2] Verse 53 *a*, *πεινῶντας ἐνέπλησεν ἀγαθῶν*, is no exception, for both the idea and the verbal expression are quite inevitable.

themes, but are fresh and vigorous. The general impression is of restraint rather than of effort. The two annunciations are brief in extent, and very simple and straightforward in their language; even in the Magnificat and the Benedictus the poet plainly holds himself in check, as though realizing that any elaborate composition would be inadequate and out of place. His originality and power, and his perfect mastery of the Hebrew classical speech, are sufficiently manifest, however, in such passages as 1 : 51 f., 76–79, 2 : 14, 34 f.[1] The Benedictus (verses 68–79):

Blessed is the Lord, the God of Israel; | for
he has visited and wrought redemption
for his people;
And has raised up for us a mighty saviour, |
in the house of his servant David.
According to his promise by the mouth | of
his holy prophets from of old,
That we should be rescued from our enemies, |
and from the hand of all who hate us;
Showing his mercy to our fathers, | and remember-
ing his holy covenant,
The solemn pledge which he gave | unto Abraham,
our father;
To give us release from fear, | rescued from
the power of our foes,
That we might serve him in holiness, | and
in righteousness before him, all our days.

And thou, child, shalt be called | the prophet
of the Highest, ||

[1] I must emphasize the fact that my own bald renderings into English, which are intended merely to give the meaning and indicate the metrical form, can give no adequate idea of the poetical character of the original.

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For thou shall go before the Lord, | to prepare his ways; ||
To give knowledge of salvation to his people, | in the pardon of their sins,||
By the tender mercy of our God, | who has visited us, ||
Shining from on high, to reveal himself | to those who dwell in darkness and deep gloom, | to guide our feet in the way of peace.

In this poem, the most striking external feature is the dramatic transition from the 3 | 3 meter to 3 | 2, at the point where Zachariah turns to address his infant son. It is a characteristic device of classical Hebrew poetry, excellently illustrated in the Old Testament, as I have shown elsewhere. The manner of bringing the poem to a close, with a single 3 | 3 | 3 verse, is also a standard literary device.

One more poem is to be included here, namely, the Nunc Dimittis of the aged Simeon (2 : 29–32). It contains verbal reminiscence of two Messianic passages in the Old Testament, Isaiah 52 : 10 and 42 : 6 (and 49 : 6).

Now lettest thou thy servant depart | in peace, Lord, according to thy word;
For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, | which thou hast prepared before all nations,
A light for revelation to the Gentiles, | and the glory of Israel, thy people.

We have here, in these earliest Christian verses, merely another bit of the traditional Jewish Messianic literature, the only new feature being the application to the Man himself, now come into the world. Here are, first, the long-familiar titles and characterization:

Son of David, Son of God, Son of the Most High, King of Israel forever on the throne of David, Anointed of the Lord (2 : 11, 26), Saviour (2 : 11, so also 1 : 69). There are also the fundamental features of the Messianic expectation: the forerunner, a second Elijah, the Prophet of the Most High (1 : 76), sent from God and filled with the Holy Spirit (1 : 15), to prepare the Jewish people for the great day; the portentous advent of the Messiah himself; the relief brought by him, in deed and word, to the distressed servants of God; his rescue of Israel, by the overthrow of the foreign kingdoms and the destruction of the incorrigibly wicked, both Gentiles and Jews; an endless reign of righteousness and justice, centering in Jerusalem, but with peace and spiritual blessing ("salvation") for all the peoples of the earth. This last feature, the salvation of the Gentiles, appears not only in 2 : 32 (cf. Isaiah 49 : 6, end), but also in 2 : 14, the peace promised on the earth (cf. especially Zechariah 9 : 10, noticing the connection), and 2 : 10, where the glad tidings are said to be "for all people," the word *hā'ām* unquestionably including the whole human race, as in Exodus 33 : 16 end, Isaiah 40 : 7, 42 : 5, Psalm 22 : 7.

Every one of these features of the Jewish Messianic hope can be traced back, in numerous examples, to about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. They are essential features of the Judaism which, while holding fast to the faith in the One God, the father of his "peculiar people," yet looked out with understanding and sympathy upon the nations and countries of the wide earth, catching a glimpse of universal history and seeing in the redemption of the whole world a fulfilment of the divine promises infinitely richer and truer than

the mere redemption of the holy land and the restoration of David's kingdom. This was the faith of all the later prophets, of the psalmists of Israel, and of all the more enlightened of the Jewish people. These same ideas were also fundamental to nascent Christianity, which was Jewish through and through, and they permeate all four Gospels alike, as well as I Acts — to mention only these earliest New Testament writings. Nothing could show more clearly how the one faith continued the other than the way in which the phrases, formulæ, and portions of Hebrew Scripture which for generations had been the comfort and inspiration of Israel were adopted unchanged by the Nazarenes. They had been central ideas in every variety of Judaism, and were now laid claim to, and given definite and final application, by those of the new faith; and for that very reason they were eventually abandoned in some measure, or given another form, by the adherents of the old. This latter fact, quite inevitable and very important, has not been given due attention by modern scholars. It opens a large subject, which can barely be touched here.

It has been too often customary, in the attempt to answer the question, whether this or that passage of the Scriptures was interpreted Messianically at the beginning of the present era, to turn to the Rabbinical writings. This is in fact the last place to look. The Jews of Palestine had more than their fill of Messiahs in the first two centuries. And to whom did the Hebrew Scriptures by right belong? The new sect wished to take possession of them and to make out of them great capital for themselves. They pointed to an array of passages in which they found prediction of their

"Messiah." The Messianic application of all such passages was thenceforward repudiated, as a matter of course, by the Jewish authorities, as far as this could be done. In some cases the interpretation was still Messianic, but with a detailed exegesis as far removed as possible from that of the Christians and in effect contradicting it. The outstanding example is Isaiah 53. Bits of exegesis such as the "virgin" of Isaiah 7 : 14 (*Jewish* exegesis, as we know from the LXX) were thrown overboard once for all. Aquila cared for this, as for many similar matters. There is no evidence nor likelihood that the Hebrew text was anywhere altered intentionally. Slight accidental corruption has once or twice worked detriment to the original Messianic sense, as in the last verse of Psalm 20. The people who raised the cry "Hosanna!" in Matthew 21 : 9, Mark 11 : 9 f., John 12 : 13, had in mind not merely Psalm 118, with its *hōšī'ā-nā*, *σῶσον δή*, but also Psalm 20 with its *hōšī'ā hammelek*, *σῶσον τὸν βασιλέα*, in verse 10 and its *ἔσωσεν Κύριος τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ* in verse 7. The original reading of Psalm 20 : 10, as attested by the meter, and also by the Greek and Latin versions and the Targum, was: "Lord, *save the King!*[1] and answer us when we call." "Hosanna to the Son of David" is of course nonsense. In the Aramaic original, however, the preposition *lamed*, very naturally rendered by the dative case (as usual), was the sign of the direct object. The true rendering is "Save the Son of David!" — precisely as in Psalm 20. I have discussed these passages fully elsewhere.

[1] At the time when these hymns were first sung in the temple (cf. I Chronicles 16 : 34, 41; II Chronicles 5 : 13; 7 : 6; Ezra 3 : 11) there was no king on the throne in Jerusalem. The one for whom they prayed was the Son of David, the long-promised Messianic King.

The best evidence as to what was interpreted Messianically in the first century of the Common Era is to be found in the Four Gospels and Acts. We are also given clear information as to the extent to which the belief was held, a subject concerning which there has been difference of opinion.

The words reported from the trial of Jesus, Mark 14 : 61 ff. and parallels, show that the High Priest and his fellows shared the Messianic doctrine of the Jewish people; it would be strange if they had not. Certainly the writers of these narratives (who knew the facts) regarded them as holding the doctrine, or they would have given some indication to the contrary. It was a most important matter, what belief was theirs, and these four Jewish writers, reporting the account in its slightly varying forms, all make plain their own view, that what Annas, Caiaphas, and the other leaders found blasphemous and worthy of the death penalty was not in the least the Messianic faith, but merely the claim that *this Jesus* was the Anointed One, the King of Israel, the Son of the Blessed. By the very manner of using these terms, as well as by their fiercely indignant protest, the leaders of the people manifested their own firm persuasion. The Hope of Israel, instituted and fostered by their great prophets and poets, under God's guidance, was a thing very sacred in their eyes and not to be trifled with. If the belief in the expected Redeemer and Guide of Israel had seemed to them futile or unimportant, if they had been personally indifferent to it, such verses as Matthew 26 : 63, 65; 27 : 42 f.; Mark 14 : 61–63; 15 : 32; Luke 22 : 67–70; 23 : 35, would have been written very differently. Pilate, of course, could do nothing but repeat the phrases which he

had heard from the accusers (John 18 : 33–35), but with the chief priests and scribes the case was altogether different; they had both the authority and the inclination to stand for *the true Jewish faith.* If the Messianic hope had not been cherished by the great body of the Jewish populace, if the chief priests and their associates had believed themselves to be in a majority with the antagonists of *this* delusion, we should unquestionably have had here some rebuke, or ridicule, or expression of disapproval, of the enthusiasts and their unwarranted expectation. We find absolutely nothing of the sort, nor evidence that the views of the leaders were in this matter unlike those of the populace. At every point where the Messianic hope is touched, in these primitive Christian narratives, and even more plainly than elsewhere in the story of the trial of Jesus, we are given the impression of conceptions which were the property of the Jewish nation, not of any particular classes or sects. Those who clamored for the conviction and death of the supposed pretender did not repudiate the belief in a Son of David.

It was to the Roman governor, not to the adherents of Jesus, that they cried, "We have no king but Cæsar!" The priests and rulers, along with the masses of the people (not simply the adherents of the Nazarene), believed that the prophets had foretold a great deliverer; what stirred them to wrath now was not the claim but the claimant. The popular beliefs in regard to the Messiah were so definitely fixed that Jesus could be tested by them, at one point and another (John 7 : 41–43, Matthew 2 : 4–6; 16 : 13–16 and parallels, John 1 : 45 f., 49; 6 : 14 f., 66–69; 7 : 27; 12 : 34, etc.). The one line of cleavage, in all

these contemporary accounts, is between those who believed that the prophecies were now fulfilled, and those who could not admit this; between those who saw in Jesus Him who was to come, and those who looked for another, far different. Nowhere, in any one of the four Gospels or in I Acts, is there any hint of a contrast between those who held the Messianic doctrine and those who did not. This means, beyond question, that there was no such line, having significance, that could be drawn.

It is hardly necessary to say, since we are dealing with ordinary human beings, that the faith in the Messiah was not held by all the Jews. There were doubters and scoffers in the usual number and variety. They were, however, a heterogeneous and relatively insignificant minority. It might perhaps be imagined that the sophisticated leaders, with an outlook broader than that of the "accursed mob" (John 7 : 49), would be especially inclined to skepticism; it must be remembered, however, that the temple was still standing, and was visited by Jewish pilgrims from every part of the earth; that the Prophets were publicly read every Sabbath (Acts 13 : 27) and believed by those who read them; and that the hope of Israel, based on a long series of definite and emphatic divine promises, had thus far been only nourished and exalted by the political situation. Even the most cosmopolitan and liberal Jew in Jerusalem could believe that his people were chosen of God (did not the chief priests and other leaders believe this?), and wonder by what divinely appointed leader they should at length be conducted to their triumph. As has already been shown, in the preceding pages, there was nothing narrow, nothing

essentially selfish, in the Messianic expectation. Those who had brought it forth and given it shape were men of clear vision and wide sympathy, men whose philosophy of history was sound to the core. The promises included a person, unmistakably. How his nature and office should be conceived were matters which each might determine for himself according to his own character and wisdom. "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest" (Acts 26 : 27). When, however, Agrippa was asked to make application of his faith to the Messiah whom Paul advocated, he very naturally felt that the persuasion offered was too slight, even though Paul insisted, with perfect truth, that he was "saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses did say should come" (verse 22).

In John 7 : 48 the Pharisees and other leaders are contrasted with the common herd; not by any means because the former rejected the doctrine of a Messiah, but because the mob could be carried away by Jesus *in spite of* the Messianic predictions of Holy Scripture. It is made perfectly plain that the Pharisees and "rulers" represented the traditional, orthodox, *scriptural* teaching as to the Coming One, which the followers of the Nazarene carpenter had belied. The rulers (ἄρχοντες), elders, and scribes, along with the High Priests and his kindred, the Sadducees, and the Pharisee Gamaliel, are shown in formal opposition to the new sect in Acts 4 : 5–12; 5 : 17 f., 27 f., 34–40; 6 : 12 ff. Peter and his associates never doubt that these dignitaries believe in *a* Messianic king and Son of God; the whole argument, indeed, is based on this presupposition. In all these accounts of the first controversies between

the leaders of the new Jewish sect and the heads of official Judaism not a single text of Scripture is ever cited by way of proof, as though the promises of a Leader and Saviour were not already recognized and accepted. This is most significant. The argument is always concerning the person, never concerning the office or the doctrine. The "rulers" acted in ignorance (Acts 3 : 17; 13 : 27), but what they had failed to perceive was merely the fulfilment of their own fixed and cherished expectation. Matthew 2 : 4–6 represents the chief priests and scribes as giving to Herod the official Jewish teaching regarding one feature of the great hope. Could these first Christian narrators have been so disingenuous, and so foolish (since the truth of the matter was everywhere known), as to attempt to misrepresent the orthodox Judaism of their time in this most important regard?

As for the Sadducees, it was natural that they should show antagonism, as a party, to the Nazarenes and their leaders (Mark 12 : 18, Matthew 22 : 23, Luke 20 : 27, Acts 4 : 1 f., 5 : 17, 23 : 8) because of the emphasis which the new teaching gave to the resurrection from the dead, as the narrators tell us again and again. There is no hint here, nor evidence elsewhere, that they objected to the Messianic faith of their people. There is no obvious reason why they should have disclaimed it, since belief in the resurrection was not one of its essential features, nor was it inconsonant with any of their known tenets. Liberal and "modern" as they were, they certainly never abandoned, as a party, their claim to belong to God's chosen people.

When therefore Allen (*Matthew*, 283) says that "it is very doubtful whether the high priests, the Sadducees,

held any definite Messianic doctrine," he is repeating what very many have said in recent years; but the opinion is one for which I can find no warrant, but only refutation, in the contemporary sources.

THE RISE OF CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM

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THE RISE OF CHRISTIAN MESSIANISM

In general it is apparent that the Christian belief in a Messiah was derived originally from Judaism. But at the time of the new religion's rise Messianism among the Jews displayed divergent tendencies, and it is not always easy to determine the specific type of Jewish thinking that exercised the most pronounced formative influence upon Christianity. Then, too, not a little uncertainty arises when we seek to fix the exact channel or channels by which the Jewish tributaries flowed into the gradually enlarging Christian stream. Furthermore, when the Jewish and the Christian Messianism of the first century are placed side by side, the difference between the two is so pronounced as to lead one to question the degree to which the Jewish inheritance had really been influential in shaping the Christian imagery.

§ 1

By the beginning of the present era Jewish Messianism had developed some well-marked variations. A primitive form of hope prefigured in ancient prophecy, according to which God would anoint a prince of David's line to occupy the royal throne and establish the supremacy of the chosen people over their political enemies, still survived. Jewish patriots in Roman times yearned for the appearing of a national deliverer through whom God would give them victory over their

foes. This hope kept alive the spirit of revolution until well into the second century A.D. Supporters were always ready to flock to the standard of any new leader who might seem to give promise of being God's approved agent to reëstablish political independence. The sad story of attempts at revolt, from the days when Judas of Galilee launched his movement following the death of Herod the Great until the time of the final disaster that overtook Bar Koziba under Hadrian, need not be rehearsed in the present connection.

Not all Jews, however, were in full sympathy with the revolutionary program of the nationalist leaders. In fact, since Maccabean times there had been a growing disposition in certain quarters to interpret the expected favor of God for his people in terms of a quite different imagery. The help to be derived from a royal prince, leading the armies of the Hebrews against their foes, had been so long deferred, or had so often proved deceptive, that a new hope of deliverance was gradually built up about the old prophetic picture of the coming day of Jehovah. While the present order of the world endured, the possibility of a better state of affairs seemed doubtful. Only when God himself should intervene with the refining fire of judgment to destroy the enemies of his people and to purge out from among them the sinners in their midst, could the better day come to realization. This result would be effected, not through the rehabilitation of the Hebrew monarchy, but by a miraculous reconstitution of society and the establishment of a genuinely theocratic régime. This was the program of the eschatologists. Its validity was thought to have been guaranteed through disclosures made to apocalyptic seers who recorded for the

benefit of their contemporaries and successors visions of the glorious redemption which God had in store for the faithful.

Eschatology was essentially a substitute for Messianism. There was no longer any function to be performed by the original figure of an anointed princely leader of Israel. Certainly it is also true that eschatologists felt no incongruity in picturing God's action in connection with the establishment of the new age as direct and immediate. When we read Jewish apocalyptic books from the Christian point of view, we may too easily lose sight of the fact that originally there was no need for a Messiah in the eschatological program. It should be remembered that in the seventh chapter of Daniel the "one like unto a son of man" is not called the Messiah at all and that in the other Jewish apocalypses prior to the destruction of the temple by the Romans we meet the transcendental Messiah nowhere except in the Similitudes of Enoch. It was to Christianity rather than to Judaism that this figure owed its ultimate popularity.

Even when an eschatologist compromised with the Messianism of the nationalists sufficiently to introduce into his picture an angelic vicegerent of God to function in connection with the inauguration of judgment and the establishment of the new age, this new Messiah was no Davidic prince destined to occupy the royal throne. He had no earthly connections whatsoever, and the kingdom over which he was to preside was no restoration of David's régime but was a new order of existence miraculously revealed from heaven. Thus God, not the Messiah, was the real savior. This meant that the eschatologists were unsympathetic with the revolu-

tionary agitations of a Judas of Galilee. For them such action was premature. They would patiently await the direct intervention of God from heaven. As a matter of fact, for the prophets of old the Messiah was a secondary and relatively insignificant figure in the accomplishment of the people's deliverance. But even a prince to be anointed by the Deity to preside over the destinies of a triumphant nation was now quite out of place. It is not surprising that certain eschatologists should have taken no account whatever of a Messiah. Even when he was included, as in the Similitudes of Enoch, he might easily be eliminated from the picture without serious menace to the realization of divine redemption.

The hope of later Judaism, as restated by the rabbis after the destruction of the temple, shows the same general disposition to connect Messianism with the present world order and to make the new age of final salvation a consequence of God's own immediate action. The older prophets' picture of a better day when an earthly Messiah would rule was not completely lost from view. It was too manifestly a constituent element of the sacred Scriptures. Interpreters had to allow for a time of national restoration when the Messiah might occupy his royal throne, but as has been clearly shown by a modern Jewish scholar,[1] the realization of this expectation was placed within the present order of existence. The Messiah belongs in "this age" (*'olam hazzeh*), not in the "age to come" (*'olam habba*). Not until this final age dawns will salvation be complete. The sacrifices will cease and the law will be

[1] J. Klausner, *Die messianischen Vostellungen des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter der Tannaiten* (Berlin, 1904).

unnecessary, since holiness will be miraculously insured by God himself. This ultimate state of holiness will be not the Messianic, but the post-Messianic age. The Messianic kingdom belongs within the present world order, while the ideal age of perfection is not at all a Messianic, but is purely a theocratic régime. Paul, the Christian, was still something of a rabbi when he wrote to the Corinthians that the rule of the Christian Messiah was destined to end the moment his triumph over enemies had been consummated. "Then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things until him, that God may be all in all" (I Corinthians 15 : 24–28). According to this representation, ultimately the Christian kingdom also is to be theocratic rather than Messianic.

By the time of Christianity's rise Jewish thinking had to a considerable extent swung away from Messianism. While this imagery remained as a heritage in the literature, it was no longer universally employed to portray the hope of redemption for the Hebrew people. In the interests of compromise it might be given a subordinate and relatively insignificant place in soteriological speculations, but the full display of divine salvation as anticipated by the Jews, apart from revolutionary groups of nationalists, was associated more immediately with God's own activities. With the passing of nationalism as the highest form of religious ideal to be attained by the pious Jew, Messianism lost its vital significance. This disposition had shown itself as early as the second century B.C., and the experiences of the Jews in Roman times still further accelerated the tendency to supplant Messianism by eschatology. Had not the figure of the Messiah found a new popularity

among Christians, it would hardly have survived outside of merely academic Jewish circles.

§ 2

Within early Christianity, Messianism was accorded a hearty reception. For the great majority of the New Testament authors it seems to be the central teaching of the new religion. The one thing necessary for salvation was to believe that in Jesus God's promises of a Messiah to the Hebrew people had at last been brought to fulfilment. This was the message of the Christian missionaries to their own generation, and they represent that it had also been the burden of Jesus' own mission to the people of his day. He may have veiled his Messiahship from certain of his contemporaries, but nevertheless it was thought to have been the one supreme truth that he had wished to communicate to those who might be permitted to receive such wisdom. This identification of himself with the Jewish Messiah, whose coming God had forecast in the Scriptures, was the principal link binding the new movement to the authoritative past and was the chief credential on which rested its claim to attention in the present. Messianism was now a far more important concept for Christians than it was for their Jewish neighbors, or perhaps than it ever had been at any period in Hebrew history.

Although manifestly a Jewish concept, Messianism as preached by the early Christians exhibits some remarkable variations from its original Jewish form. Its national connections, which had been primary and fundamental with the Jews, are now completely abandoned. The Messiah is left to function wholly

within the sphere of eschatology. The full manifestation of Jesus' Messianic dignity and power remains to be revealed in the future when he returns to earth to preside at the great assize on the judgment day. At least, so far as the synoptic Gospels are concerned, his earthly career was a mere foreshadowing of his ultimate Messianic triumph. As yet he had made only a preliminary display. The full exhibition of his work awaited his return in the glory of the Father with the holy angels. There were, it is true, some Christians who interested themselves in claiming for him Davidic ancestry, but the credential is only a superficial one. Even had it been admitted that Joseph of Davidic lineage was actually the father of Jesus, it would not have been claimed that Jesus had accomplished the rehabilitation of the Hebrew monarchy. The kingdom that he was concerned ultimately to establish was of another sort. It belonged not to this age but to a new order of existence to follow the day of judgment.

Christians had made two very radical alterations in the Jewish Messianic hope. In the first place, as remarked above, Messianism had been severed completely from nationalism. But when it was transferred bodily into the realm of eschatology a second and still more radical transformation was effected. The Jewish transcendental Messiah, whenever mentioned, is a wholly angelic personage, man-like only in form as he exists with God in heaven, there awaiting the moment for his first manifestation on earth. With Christians, on the other hand, he is first an earthly being — at least the synoptists know nothing of his preëxistence — who after a career of teaching among the Jews dies, is exalted to heaven, and is there inducted into the

Messianic office. This Christian saviour has been first a dying and rising hero. He supplants the figure of the heroic revolutionary leader who might have given the Jewish people national independence, and becomes the leader of the powers of light in conflict with the prince of darkness. He thus effects a deliverance which is not national but cosmic in character. Originally a man, by his death and release from Sheol, he mounts a throne in heaven where his authority is second only to that of God. Presently he will come in the power of his Father to give eternal deliverance to his followers.

Christian Messianism as set forth in the synoptic Gospels deviates so widely from its Jewish prototype that one readily understands why the preaching of this message failed to win any large following among Jews. Its advocates certainly had no word of hope for the nationalists, and when the hope of the eschatologists was connected with the career of a crucified man, it must have seemed to many persons a mere parody on their glorious expectation that God himself would directly intervene to establish a wholly new order. Yet the synoptic writers were firmly convinced that this new Christian reading of the Messianic hope was correct. How had this conviction been attained? Who had been responsible for effecting the transformation of the original Jewish picture into this new type of imagery? The Gospel writers themselves were convinced that Jesus had sponsored the change. They would have said that Christian Messianism owed its origin, in so far as it differed from that of Judaism, to Jesus himself. But on this point modern students are wont to entertain some very grave doubts.

Certainly Jesus was not in sympathy with the agitation of the nationalists who sought to incite the people to revolution against Rome. He never spoke of a deliverance to be accomplished through the activity of an earthly leader whom God would favor with success in the struggle to throw off the Roman yoke. The incentive for his own public career was not derived from previous association with a Judas of Galilee, who called on men to take up the sword in confidence that God would then come to their aid. On the contrary, Jesus' earlier association had been with a John the Baptist, who was announcing the imminence of a day of judgment when God would effect deliverance for his people in genuinely eschatological fashion. And Jesus, we must believe, was an eschatologist rather than a national revolutionist. Salvation was to come through the miraculous inauguration of a new age, not through the enthronement of a national Messiah to rule over David's kingdom.

If Jesus employed eschatological imagery in elaborating God's program for effecting the deliverance of his people, then he might have pictured a Messiah after the model furnished by the Similitudes of Enoch. This supposition would account for the extensive use which he is said to have made of the expression "Son of Man." But when Jesus is held responsible for the opinions about the Messiah expressed in the synoptic Gospels, he must also be charged with a very radical alteration of his eschatological heritage from Judaism. According to the Evangelists, Jesus assigned to himself the rôle of the apocalyptic Son of Man, who heretofore had been known only in the form of an angelic creature existing in the presence of God. Of any previous

earthly career there is no intimation. He belongs wholly in the sphere of Deity. But this transcendental Messiah must now give way to the Galilean preacher of reform. Jesus appropriates for himself the functions of this dignitary. What in Jesus' own setting had induced him to attempt any such revision of current Jewish eschatology?

The Gospel writers have assumed that Messianic self-classification would have been a matter of supreme importance to Jesus. Their application of this idea to him after his death had seemed to save his cause, so far as their own confidence in him was concerned, and they readily concluded that identification with the figure of the transcendental Messiah would have been similarly necessary for him. But Jesus had been more concerned with fidelity to the cause of God, whose spokesman fittingly claimed genuine inspiration but not official installation. It is very doubtful whether Messiahship from Jesus' own point of view would have been a category of sufficient value to serve him significantly at a critical moment in his experience. Preachers of repentance in Israel were not wont to officialize themselves in order to buoy up their courage even in the presence of death. There is a great danger of arguing in a circle at this point. We assume that Jesus expected his resurrection since he believed himself to be the Messiah, and we justify his belief in his Messiahship on the ground of his expected resurrection. We are moving here in an area of interests distinctive of the early church and quite remote from the vital concerns of the historical Jesus.

The incentives prompting disciples to devise the specific Messianic program displayed in the Gospels

can be discovered much more easily within the life of the early community than within the experience of Jesus. In preaching the nearness of the Kingdom of God, and the necessity of preparation for this event, he, like others of his Jewish kinsmen, may have ignored entirely the figure of the Messiah. God alone could effect an entirely adequate salvation. Even had Jesus allowed room in his preaching for the appearance of a Messiah like that of the Similitudes of Enoch, it would have been a quite different matter to identify himself with that transcendental figure. But if we grant that he had made no application of the Messianic concept to himself, how shall we account for the rise of that distinctively Christian Messianism which is contained in the New Testament, particularly in the synoptic Gospels?

§ 3

Messianic imagery is not uniformly distributed throughout the synoptic Gospels. There are large sections of the narrative where it does not appear at all. The representation contained in these documents is itself a product of historical evolution. It is still possible in a general way to distinguish earlier from later stages in the growth of early Christian Messianism. Merely a superficial examination of the records will suffice to impress one with the absence of Messianic interests in such portions of the Gospels as the Sermon on the Mount and many of the parables. Jesus talks of the Kingdom of God, or of the Kingdom of Heaven, but never of the Kingdom of the Messiah, and in much of the imagery which he is represented as using to portray the advent of the Kingdom, apparently he had

employed the characteristic language of that type of Jewish apocalyptic in which no Messianic figure necessarily appeared on the horizon of the eschatological hope. With Jesus' keen sense of immediacy in the relations between God and men, the likelihood is all the greater that he would have belonged to that class of eschatologists who had no concern with a Messiah in their pictures of divine deliverance.

The Gospel writers are also clear in their recognition that during Jesus' lifetime even his closest disciples had not believed him to be an eschatological Messiah. After his crucifixion when this new faith had come to full bloom they marveled at their former stupidity. Yet it was well remembered that some of them during their days of personal association with Jesus had entertained a definite expectation that he would prove to be a present national deliverer. They had imagined that he would set up the Kingdom in truly royal fashion and give some of their number seats of honor in his cabinet. This is virtually a confession that they had expected him to inaugurate a successful uprising against Rome, and hence the tremendous shock suffered by them when he was arrested and crucified by the very power that he should himself have overthrown.

Probably the only form of Messianic expectation connected with the person of Jesus by his friends previous to his death was in line with this national revolutionary interest. Those followers who were attracted to him by his forceful personality, and his vigorous summons to the attainment of a higher righteousness, easily imagined that he might be the one whom God had selected to strike the blow that would deliver the oppressed nation from bondage to the Romans.

While he himself made no such declaration of purpose, his hopeful friends were not to be easily discouraged. Not until overtaken by the disaster of his crucifixion did they lose hope, and then only temporarily. They remembered, of course, that he had approved of paying the tribute to Cæsar and that he had consistently pictured the advent of the Kingdom in eschatological fashion. Nevertheless a few of his followers had persisted in believing that he was the one who would redeem Israel by leading a God-approved movement to drive the foreigner out of the Holy Land. The victory would unquestionably be accomplished in a miraculous manner. God would suddenly come to the assistance of Jesus and his cause. His disciples would see the early fulfilment of their desires and would presently find themselves seated in positions of honor in the new Davidic kingdom.

For these disciples who persisted in entertaining even a modicum of Jewish nationalism, the death of Jesus meant a tremendous crisis in their lives. Behind the tradition of his triumphal entry into Jerusalem lies, perhaps as the principal historical kernel, an over-enthusiastic expression of the hope that at the feast Jesus would introduce under God's direction the longed-for change in the political administration of the country. But the fateful week at Jerusalem issued in a very different outcome for the hopeful followers of Jesus. Its close found their leader discredited, while they themselves were hastening away to their former homes in Galilee. They bore with them for the moment a conviction that Jesus on the cross had cried, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Whether or not he had actually uttered these words of the Psalmist,

certainly the quotation expressed very accurately the present sentiments of his once enthusiastic disciples. Instead of God's elevating their hero to David's throne he had been left to die on a Roman cross, and the Kingdom remained unrealized.

It is quite impossible to measure the height and the depth of the disciples' emotional life during these eventful days. But certain members of the group rose presently from the abyss of discouragement to new heights of confidence under the newly attained conviction that Jesus had been raised from the dead and exalted to heaven. Although they at once convinced themselves that these things had happened according to the original intention of Jesus, they freely admitted that the conviction on their own part was an entirely new attainment. They now believed that he must have alluded beforehand to coming events of such tremendous importance, but during his lifetime they had utterly failed to understand his meaning. Now, however, everything had become clear. They had been wrong in supposing that he would establish the Kingdom as a leader against the Romans. Their retention of the national Messianic hope in connection with his career had been altogether a mistake. But their error had consisted in too low an estimate of his significance. He was destined to be a more brilliant deliverer.

Jesus was now in heaven enthroned in the office of transcendental Messiah. Suddenly he would descend in triumph to establish his Kingdom on earth. A group of disciples took up their residence in Jerusalem to await his momentarily expected return. In accordance with apocalyptic imagery, Jerusalem was the

place where the final eschatological drama would be staged. It was not easy for a company of Galilean peasants and fishermen to make a new home for themselves in the city of Jerusalem, but it seemed to them essential to remain at all costs in the vicinity of the temple where the Messiah was to appear. While awaiting the fulfilment of their new hopes they were diligent in their religious practices after a truly Jewish fashion. They kept the law and attended the ceremonies at the temple and gained a reputation even outside their own immediate circle for excellence in Jewish piety. Later, when Paul and Barnabas admitted Gentiles to the new religion without requiring circumcision, they found Christians at Jerusalem the most serious obstacle in the way of their procedure. Those persons who would prepare themselves for the coming of Jesus, the true Jewish Messiah, must be perfect in the observance of those requirements that God had laid down for the regulation of life among the people of his choice.

Not all of Jesus' acquaintances had been favored by visions of him risen. And it is not at all certain that the majority of his former friends fell in line with the new interpretation worked out by Peter and the others who had become convinced of the resurrection of Jesus and his elevation to Messianic dignity. Paul gives the earliest and most complete account of the number of people who believed that they had actually seen the risen Jesus. Peter was the first who had had this experience. Then it was enjoyed by a group called "the twelve." At another time there had been five hundred present on the occasion of an appearance, some of whom were no longer alive in Paul's day. Another

appearance had been granted to James, the brother of Jesus. On still another occasion all the "apostles" had seen Jesus, and the final appearance had taken place at the time of Paul's own conversion (I Corinthians 15 : 5–8).

Those followers of Jesus who had failed to rise to the emotional heights necessary for experiencing the post-resurrection appearances may have been content to remember the words of the prophet, as disciples of prophets in the past had commonly done, without any thought of officializing or heroizing the teacher. It is altogether probable that many of Jesus' hearers had not been dominated by the spirit of nationalism. They had cherished more fondly the words of religious instruction that he had spoken. In their esteem he seemed more like one of the prophets of old who delivered an inspiring message from God. For these disciples the death of the teacher, while cause for grief, had been no irreparable calamity. It was a result not unexpected in connection with the career of a prophetic reformer. Even though the prophet's own voice had been silenced by death, the religious message he had delivered was still valid, and it was the duty of those who remained to pass it on to others. The Kingdom of God was yet to come, and the teaching of Jesus constituted a body of instruction to be preserved and perpetuated by the disciples in order that their contemporaries might be prepared for the impending event. These preachers were not concerned to officialize the martyred teacher, but they engaged very earnestly in the task of reporting what he had said about how it was necessary for men to live if they would conform to the will of God, and thus prepare themselves for

membership in the coming Kingdom of Heaven. These more sober-minded followers would hardly be ready to rush up to Jerusalem at the time of the first Pentecost following the crucifixion in the expectation that Jesus would there reveal himself as an apocalyptic Messiah. Nor would they have the same incentive felt by the group gathered in Jerusalem for turning to the legalistic type of Jewish piety. They could still follow the spontaneous life that had been their custom while in association with Jesus. They continued the work of his prophetic reform; they did not attempt to establish a new institution and lay down a new law for the guidance of its members. When the new Messianists at Jerusalem recalled the story of Jesus' career, they were particularly interested to exhibit him as a hero, while the other band of disciples were concerned more especially in his didactic activities. From the former group the present Gospel writers inherited the story of what Jesus had done, while from the latter came the reports of things that Jesus had said.

At the time the present Gospels were written "things said" and "things done" were already known to constitute two distinct types of early Christian tradition. In so far as these two types are to-day distinguishable, the didactic element is singularly free from Messianism, while the pragmatic sections are dominated by this interest. It has long been recognized that in the "sayings" the story of Jesus' preaching during the last week at Jerusalem is quite ignored, and no references are made to his predictions of the crucifixion or resurrection. The Christians who were responsible for assembling the earliest record of Jesus' teaching had not been concerned with heroic features of his career.

They had not been of the company at Jerusalem, but were still the followers of the prophet whose religious message they would perpetuate for the benefit of all who would prepare for membership in the coming Kingdom. They were not Messianists themselves, nor did they make a Messiah out of their deceased master. But they were still eschatologists, as he had been, and they awaited the inauguration of the theocratic régime that God himself was expected soon to introduce.

Peter, James, and their immediate circle of friends represented a quite different interest. Their gaze was fixed more intently on the future. Not the message that Jesus had spoken to his own generation, but the prospect of his return in apocalyptic triumph, fascinated their imaginations. They looked for his most significant accomplishments in the time to come. In the interim their primary duty was to wait and to prepare and to gather a company of like-minded Messianists ready to receive Jesus on his return. At first sight it may seem strange that the early chapters of the Book of Acts, reporting the life of the Jerusalem community, is almost completely devoid of any reference to the teaching of the earthly Jesus. Similarly, Paul, who before his conversion, had come to Jerusalem, who later visited with representative members from this group, and who had some of them as his fellow-missionaries, has almost nothing to say of religious teachings of Jesus. This phenomenon is probably to be explained by the dominance of Messianism, which kept the eyes of the Jerusalem disciples riveted on the future during the early years of their life together. And when finally they turned to the past, they were interested in the

heroic rather than the didactic features of Jesus' career.

We infer that the distinctively Christian form of Messianism presented in the synoptic Gospels, which represents that Jesus identified himself with the transcendental Messiah of Jewish apocalyptic, is the work of Peter and his friends, who assembled in the days following the crucifixion and wrought out a new interpretation of Jesus' significance in accordance with their more recent experiences. The group that gathered in Jerusalem cherished this belief in Jesus' Messiahship, and through them and their representatives it was passed on to Paul and to other laborers in the Gentile field. But as the new movement was persistently rejected by Jews, and the need for didactic materials increased through the delay of Jesus' return and the growth of the congregations, the memory of his religious message gained a new importance. It had first been preserved by those disciples who had no interest in Messianism, but now it was gradually absorbed by the Messianic communities, that were still, however, very much concerned to stress the heroic aspects of Jesus' career.

On Gentile soil, where dying and rising saviours were already in favor, the hero Jesus continued to attract chief attention. Thus Messianism survived, but not without undergoing a new transformation. Gradually it was Hellenized. The Christian Messiah was no longer founder of a Kingdom for the Jews, nor for a select remnant of the Jewish people. Although Paul could not bring himself to surrender the perfectly logical contention that the Messiah would have principally Jews as members in his Kingdom (Romans,

chap. 10 f.), the next generation of missionaries was more ready to allow that the Christian salvation was neither of nor for the Jews. Messianism was now phrased in terms of an individualistic soteriology better suited to the needs of a Gentile church. By the end of the first century Christian thinking about Jesus was well on the way toward identification of the Messiah with the Saviour represented in later ecclesiastical dogma.

THE PAULINE IDEA OF FORGIVENESS

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THE PAULINE IDEA OF FORGIVENESS

The sense of forgiveness is a primary element in the religious consciousness. Psychologically it is a fact of consciousness, and as such it deserves the same kind of consideration that is given to any other fact of this sort. It is opposed to the sense of guilt, which arises from the consciousness that one has sinned or in some way offended the Deity. This in turn produces a feeling of separation or estrangement from God, and the latter causes intense suffering to sensitive people. Hence the question of sin and its consequences becomes a problem for religion.

Religion solves the problem by trying to establish in the sinner's mind a sense of reconciliation with God in place of the feeling of estrangement. Reconciliation presupposes forgiveness on God's side, and forgiveness presupposes repentance or sacrifice on man's part. Much light is thrown on the character of a religion and its idea of God by the way in which it provides for the restoration of sinners.

The divine forgiveness occupies a prominent place in the religion of Israel. The prophets teach that Jahveh is always ready to forgive those who have transgressed, provided only they repent and turn from their sins and strive diligently to live in accordance with his will. Their transgressions, though they be many, are forgiven; and their sins, though they be grievous, are remitted.

Jeremiah sets forth clearly God's desire to forgive the sins of the house of Judah and the condition on which pardon can be obtained. The prophet, speaking in the name of the Lord, says, "Perhaps the house of Judah will hear all the evil which I purpose to do to them, that they may turn each one from his evil way, and I may forgive their iniquity and their sin." [1] The completeness of God's forgiveness is well expressed by Isaiah of Jerusalem: "If your sins be like scarlet robes, they shall be white like snow; if they be red like scarlet stuff, they shall be like wool." [2]

Those who have experienced forgiveness are at peace with the Holy One of Israel, for the act or conduct by which they offended him has been done away. The joy that comes from forgiveness is thus voiced by one of the later psalmists: "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man to whom Jahveh does not impute iniquity." [3]

The Old Testament doctrine of forgiveness is clear and simple, and it is also logical in view of the prophetic conception of the character of God. Ethically and religiously it is entirely sound, for it makes possible a new life of righteousness and vital piety.

Judaism is dominated by the divinely given law of Moses. In it God has perfectly revealed his will; so that if one would please him and win the reward of blessedness, one has only to study the law and live in accordance with its precepts. This kind of conduct

[1] Jeremiah 36 : 3.

[2] Isaiah 1 : 18. תולע, which is translated "crimson" in the A. V. and R. V., denotes the same color as שנים, which these versions correctly render "scarlet."

[3] Psalms 32 : 1 f. Baethgen (in *Handkommentar zum A. T.*, 2. Aufl., II, 2, p. 87) thinks this Psalm is a development of the thought found in Proverbs 28 : 13.

is pleasing to God, and by it the wise man is distinguished from the fool.

Sin and righteousness are the poles of the moral life, and the norm or standard by which an act is judged to be righteous or sinful is the law. To sin is to break or to fail to keep the law, and hence sin is in essence transgression. On the other hand to observe the law is to be righteous, so that righteousness consists in obeying the law.

Righteousness and sin are diametrically opposed to each other, but righteousness is not synonymous with sinlessness. One does not have to be sinless in order to be righteous. "There is not a righteous man in the earth who does good and sins not." [1] In other words, no one completely achieves the ideal of moral perfection; but nevertheless many Israelites have deserved to be called righteous, because they have made a conscientious effort to keep the law of God and have been on the whole successful in their attempt. To be sure they have sometimes offended, but they have repented and been forgiven. If a sinner repents, he will be forgiven.[2] Even Manasseh, who was a most notorious sinner, obtained forgiveness by repentance.

Forgiveness is possible for the penitent because God is always ready to forgive, as the ancient prophets taught; but even so he forgives only on condition of repentance. Foreseeing man's inability to keep the law perfectly, God created repentance along with the Torah before he made the world.[3] By repentance (תשובה) is meant, as the word itself indicates, a conscious turning away from sin to God. It includes not

[1] Ecclesiastes 7 : 20. [2] Cf. *Jer. Makkot*, II, 31*d*.
[3] Cf. *Pesaḥim*, 54*a*.

only sorrow for past sin and the making of amends to the person who has suffered wrong, but also confession and an earnest intention not to repeat the offense in the future. Repentance is an act of will — the sole condition precedent to forgiveness. When the sinner repents, God forgives freely and fully. "The Holy One (blessed is his name) said to Elijah, 'See the good portion which I have given in my world: a man sins before me many times and repents and I receive him.'"[1]

No sacrifice is prescribed by the Jewish law in such cases. The sin offering, which might on account of its name be thought to be an expiation for sin, is required only for unintentional infractions of the law and for purification after defilement.[2] Repentance, and repentance alone, assures God's forgiveness. The Jewish doctrine of forgiveness leaves nothing to be desired from the point of view of ethics and religion. It is worthy of note, moreover, that this simple and sound view was developed within the limits of legalism.

Since sin is conceived as a transgression of the law which God has revealed, it is only God who can remit or forgive sin. This power is delegated neither to angels nor to men. No lawgiver or prophet or sage of olden time ever presumed to forgive sin in the name of God. Nor is the forgiving of sin a function of the Messiah, who, it should be remembered, is not a divine figure.

John the Baptist, the austere prophet of the Judean wilderness, was the founder of a reform movement within Judaism. He believed that the present age

[1] *Jer. Sanhedrin*, 28*b*.
[2] Cf. G. F. Moore in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, IV., col. 4204 f.

was drawing swiftly to its close and that the coming age of the Messiah was about to dawn. He denounced the sins of the people, and called upon them to repent and act in a manner worthy of repentance, that they might escape the wrath which was soon to be manifested upon the earth.[1]

John's message was thus at once ethical and eschatological. Many people were moved by his preaching to confess their sins and be baptized in token of repentance and forgiveness. Baptism was a symbol of repentance on the part of sinners and of remission or forgiveness on the part of God. Forgiveness was God's response to man's repentance. Nothing is said about sacrifice of any sort, because no sacrifice was necessary. It was believed that God forgave freely on the sole condition of repentance. In this respect John the Baptist was in complete agreement with the ancient prophets of Israel and with the Jewish teachers of his time.

Jesus of Nazareth was not unnaturally attracted by the preaching of the Baptist, and he went down to the Jordan and was baptized. John's message was straightforward, practical, and morally earnest, and his announcement of an impending catastrophe either harmonized with Jesus' own ideas, or else the latter soon became convinced that John was right.

When the Baptist was thrown into prison and could no longer preach openly, Jesus took up and carried on his work. Thus Jesus also became the leader of a reform movement in Judaism, and his teaching, like that of his predecessor, was both ethical and eschatological.

[1] Cf. Mark 1 : 1–8 = Matthew 3 : 1–12 = Luke 3 : 1–20. See also Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 5, 2.

However, his labors covered more territory than John's, and he greatly broadened the scope of the latter's work by performing bodily cures. Jesus' ministry embraced both healing and preaching.

In due time he and his disciples became convinced that he was the long-expected Messiah of Israel, and thus what was at first a Jewish reform movement essentially like that of John the Baptist was converted into a Messianic movement fraught with all the hopes and dangers of Messianism. Moreover, near the beginning of his public career Jesus gathered about him a little group of companions and co-workers. During his ministry these formed a kind of loose and informal organization, and after his death they became the nucleus of the church in Jerusalem.

According to the Gospel of Mark, "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God and saying, 'The time has been fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is at hand; repent and believe the good news.'"[1] He meant that the appointed time had come, and that the reign or rule of God upon the earth was imminent. In view of this coming event he urged his hearers to repent, in order that they might not be caught unpre-

[1] Mark 1 : 14 f. After μετανοεῖτε in verse 15 follow the words και πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. If Jesus used בשורתא or בסורתא here, which is the Aramaic equivalent of εὐαγγελιον, it doubtless meant the good news just announced by him, *i.e.*, that the Kingdom of God was at hand. Matthew (4 : 17), however, which is based on Mark at this point, stops with the exhortation to repent. Probably nothing was said about believing the good news in the form of Mark which the author of Matthew used. The words καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ are in all probability an editorial addition. Luke (4 : 15), which is also dependent on Mark, says simply that "he taught in their synagogues, being glorified by all." The phrase πιστεύειν ἐν, which occurs a few times in the LXX, is found only here in the New Testament; and, so far as I have been able to discover, it is not used in the Apostolic Fathers or in the Greek Apologists or in Irenæus. In Ignatius, *Philad.*, 8, 2, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ is not the object of πιστεύω.

pared. This, as we have seen, was also the burden of John's message. Jesus, like the prophets of old and like his Jewish contemporaries, believed that God would freely forgive all who repented of their sins, for he was their loving Father in heaven. No mention was made of sacrifice, because no sacrifice of any sort could avail with God, and to require it in his name would have been impious.

Jesus taught his disciples to forgive an offending brother as often as he repented; for if they did not do so, their heavenly Father would not forgive them their trespasses.[1] In regard to repentance and forgiveness the Prophet of Nazareth was in complete agreement with his Jewish contemporaries.

On the other hand, when one passes from the Hebrew prophets and the Jewish teachers and from John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth to the epistles of the Apostle Paul, one finds one's self in a wholly different world of thought. This is true not only in general, but also in regard to the forgiveness of sins.

The remission or forgiveness of sins is seldom mentioned by the Apostle to the Gentiles. He uses the substantive ἄφεσις only twice, once in Colossians and once in Ephesians, and the passages in which the word occurs are parallel.[2] Likewise, the verb ἀφιέναι is

[1] Cf. Mark 11 : 25 = Matthew 6 : 14 f.; Matthew 6 : 12 = Luke 11 : 4; Matthew 18 : 21 f. = Luke 17 : 4. Repentance is mentioned only in the last of the passages just cited (Luke 17 : 4), but it is implied in the others. Forgiveness, whether it be human or divine, does not anticipate repentance on the part of the offender. The negative saying contained in Matthew 6 : 15 is also found in Mark 11 : 26, according to some manuscripts; but it is omitted by BℵLSΔ etc., and is rejected by recent editors as an interpolation from Matthew.

[2] Colossians 1 : 14 and Ephesians 1 : 7. In Romans 3 : 25 the A. V. (text) wrongly translates διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων "for the remission of sins that are past." In the margin, however, πάρεσιν

found only once in the sense of *forgive*, and in that case it is in a quotation from the Septuagint.[1] Χαρίζεσθαι, which is Paul's usual word for the human act of forgiving,[2] is used only three times to denote the divine forgiveness.[3]

The same is also true of repentance, which, as we have already seen, is the sole condition precedent for forgiveness in Judaism. The substantive μετάνοια occurs only three times in the ten epistles which we may justly account genuine works of Paul,[4] and the verb μετανοεῖν but once.[5]

It is sin that makes repentance necessary. Though Paul says little about forgiveness and repentance, he often mentions sin in his epistles, and he does not by any means think lightly of it. He was a morally earnest Jew, he was reared on the religious ideals of the Old Testament, and his heart was set on the attainment of righteousness. He hated the sins of the heathen and what he calls " the works of the flesh " with the hatred of a Puritan. With such things he made no compromise.

The Apostle uses the substantive ἁμαρτία, which denotes sin both as an evil power and as a definite

is correctly rendered "passing over." The Vulgate has *propter remissionem præcedentium delictorum* for the above-mentioned phrase, and in this mistaken interpretation of the idea it was followed by Wyclif, the Rheims N. T., and the A. V. (text). Luther and Tindale, as well as the translators of the Great Bible and the Geneva version, also understood πάρεσιν in the sense of forgiveness. The R. V. has "passing over."

[1] Romans 4 : 7.

[2] It is used thus by Paul seven times: II Corinthians 2 : 7, 10 (*ter*); 12 : 13; Ephesians 4 : 32; Colossians 3 : 13.

[3] Ephesians 4 : 32; Colossians 2 : 13; 3 : 13.

[4] Romans 2 : 4; II Corinthians 7 : 9, 10. In Romans 2 : 4 the goodness of God leads one to repentance, and in II Timothy 2 : 25 repentance is spoken of as a gift of God.

[5] II Corinthians 12 : 21.

act, sixty-one times,[1] and the verb ἁμαρτάνειν fifteen times. The cognate ἁμάρτημα, which is employed by Paul only in the concrete sense, occurs but twice.[2] Besides this group of words the following are also found in the Pauline Epistles, each of which has its own particular shade of meaning: ἀδικία,[3] ἀνομία,[4] παράβασις,[5] παρακοή,[6] and παράπτωμα.[7] It is not necessary, however, to discuss the different connotations of these terms here.

The important question is, What did Paul understand by sin? How did he conceive it? As a Jew, he naturally regarded sin as transgression of God's law and as disobedience to the command of the Lord. As a believer in Christ, he still thought of sin as transgression and disobedience, but this was by no means his whole thought about it. The idea of transgression is uppermost in παράβασις and that of disobedience in παρακοή, but the Apostle uses these words much less frequently than the general term ἁμαρτία.

Paul regards sin in its deepest aspect as an evil power. It finds lodgment in the flesh and dwells there;[8]

[1] Two of these cases are in a quotation from the LXX (Romans 4 : 7 f.). II Thessalonians 2 : 3 is not included in the above given number. *ADEFGKLP minn it vg pesh*, etc., have ἁμαρτίας here; but *B*ℵ *sah boh*, etc., read ἀνομίας. On this textual question, which is not easy to solve, see Frame on Thessalonians in *The International Critical Commentary*, p. 253. Recent editors are nearly equally divided: Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott-Hort, and Baljon prefer ἀνομίας; whereas B. Weiss, von Soden, and Vogels adopt ἁμαρτίας.

[2] Romans 3 : 25 and I Corinthians 6 : 18. [3] Eleven times.

[4] Five times (including II Thessalonians 2 : 3). One of these cases is in a quotation from the LXX (Romans 4 : 7).

[5] Four times. [6] Twice. [7] Sixteen times.

[8] Cf. Romans 7 : 17, 20. For the indwelling of sin Paul uses the verbs ἐνοικεῖν (verse 17) and οἰκεῖν (verse 20). It is worthy of note that he employs the same verbs to denote the indwelling of the divine Spirit in believers (Romans 8 : 9, 11).

it gets control of a man and dominates him,[1] and finally it brings about his death.[2] Indeed it was through sin that death came into the world and made its way to all the members of the human race.[3] This power lurking within gets a start and then through the commandment which God gave it produces all manner of evil desire in its victim.[4] In other words sin as an evil power comes first, and then follow in order the divine commandment, evil desire, and actual sin, and at last death supervenes.[5]

The Apostle clearly thinks of sin as an evil power in a realistic way. Some scholars hold that he regards it as a demon,[6] but it seems rather to be merely a personified evil power. In this conception of sin as an evil power Paul departs most strikingly from Old Testament and Jewish thought, according to which, as we have seen, sin was looked upon simply as the transgression of the revealed law of God.[7] Repentance on man's side and forgiveness on God's part suffice to do away with sin

[1] Sin is thought of as a lord (Romans 6 : 14) and as a king (Romans 5 : 21; 6 : 12), and its devotees are spoken of as slaves (Romans 6 : 16 f., 20). When one becomes a believer, Christ as Lord takes the place of sin, and the person becomes a δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[2] Cf., *e.g.*, Romans 6 : 21, 23. Death was looked upon by the Jews as the penalty of sin. Cf. Strack und Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N. T. aus Talmud und Midrasch*, III, 228 f.

[3] Cf. Romans 5 : 12. By θάνατος Paul means physical death. Death was regarded in Judaism not only as Adam's punishment for his sin, but also as a judgment upon his descendants. Cf. IV Esdras 3 : 7. See also Strack und Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, III, 227 f.

[4] Cf. Romans 7 : 8. The phrase διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς should be taken with κατειργάσατο (de Wette, Meyer, Lipsius, Sanday-Headlam) rather than with ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα (Lietzmann *et al.*). By ἐπιθυμίαν is meant not merely coveting or lust, but evil desire in general.

[5] Cf. Lietzmann in *Handbuch zum N. T.*, III, i, 35.

[6] Cf. Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristentum*, 2. Aufl., I, 197; Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*, pp. 122 f.; and Carré, *Paul's Doctrine of Redemption*, pp. 10 ff., 21, and 27 ff.

[7] Cf. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, 2. Aufl., II, 43.

when it is understood merely as transgression; but when it is conceived in the Pauline fashion a transaction of a totally different sort is needed in order to free a man from its power and to destroy it.

The death of Christ is of fundamental importance in the theology of Paul, and it is vitally connected with the question of forgiveness. According to the Apostle, Christ, who existed before he entered upon his earthly career, came into the world to redeem man from sin and to effect his salvation. This purpose he accomplished once and for all by his death on the cross, which was in no sense an ordinary death. It was the death of the Son of God, and it had permanent and far-reaching significance.

The death of Christ, moreover, has a direct bearing on the question of the forgiveness of sins. "God, having sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and concerning sin, condemned sin in the flesh." [1] That is, in the death of Christ God actually accomplished the condemnation of sin conceived as an evil power and deprived it of its dominion over men. This was his purpose in sending his Son and delivering him up to death on the cross. Christ died on account of sins; [2] and the Apostle can even say that God "made him who knew not sin to be sin on behalf of us, that we might

[1] By σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας Paul means the flesh which has become subject to the domination of sin. For the Apostle the flesh is factually and historically under the control of sin, which dwells in it as an evil power; but he does not draw the metaphysical conclusion that the flesh itself is inherently evil. On this question see Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, II, 45 f. Περὶ ἁμαρτίας is not to be understood in the sense of sin offering (Hilgenfeld, Vaughan, R. V. text). To take the phrase in this way is to misunderstand the nature of the sin offering in the Old Testament. Cf. G. F. Moore in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, IV, col. 4230. On the interpretation of this verse see Lipsius in *Hand-Commentar zum N. T.*, II, ii, 132 f.

[2] Cf. I Corinthians 15 : 3 (ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιων ἡμων).

become the righteousness of God in him." [1] His death was an expiation for sins,[2] and it was necessary in order that God might be "just and the justifier of him who has faith in Jesus." [3] By it the power of sin was finally overcome and abolished, and God's purpose in sending his Son was achieved.

How, it may be asked, does Christ's death affect the individual believer? How does the benefit of it accrue to him? This question can be answered only in the light of Paul's conception of the Christian life.

The Apostle's fundamental idea in regard to the Christian life is that the believer is "in Christ"; and being "in Christ" is understood in a realistic and mystical way.[4] Christ is the atmosphere or element in which he lives. Paul also speaks of the believer as being "in the Spirit" [5] and "in God." [6] So, too, conversely he can say that God or Christ or the Spirit dwells in the believer.[7] In any case the category is that of possession or control by a divine power, and hence the

[1] II Corinthians 5: 21. By the second ἁμαρτίαν Paul does not mean a sin offering, which, as we have seen, was a sacrifice of an entirely different sort from that of Christ. Δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ is God's "vindicative righteousness," *i.e.*, the attribute or act whereby he vindicates the sinner. On this see Ropes in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXII (1903), 218.

[2] Cf. Romans 3: 25. Ἱλαστήριον may be a substantive meaning either "an atoning sacrifice" (Meyer, Lipsius, Lietzmann) or "a means of expiation" (Godet, B. Weiss); or it may be an adjective agreeing with ὄν and meaning "expiatory" (Morison, Sanday-Headlam, Denney). In any case the general sense of the word is clear.

[3] Romans 3: 26. Δίκαιον and δικαιοῦντα both refer to God's "vindicative righteousness." Cf. Ropes in *op. cit.*, XXII (1903), 226.

[4] Cf. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche Formel "in Christo Jesu,"* pp. 1 ff.; and Hatch, *The Pauline Idea of Faith*, pp. 38 ff.

[5] Cf., *e.g.*, Romans 8: 9 and Ephesians 2: 22.

[6] Cf. I Thessalonians 1: 1 and II Thessalonians 1: 1. Only in these two places does Paul speak of believers as being in God.

[7] Cf., *e.g.*, II Corinthians 6: 16 (God); Romans 8: 10 (Christ); Romans 8: 9, 11 (the Spirit).

Christian life is in essence divine. All the privileges, blessings, and graces which characterize the believer's life and distinguish it from every other kind of life result from this mystical relationship with the divine which has just been described.

Foremost among the blessings of the Christian life is the sense of forgiveness which is experienced in fellowship with Christ. This is what the Apostle calls in forensic or juridical language justification.[1] God in the rôle of a judge acquits the sinner who stands before him and pronounces him "not guilty." In other words the defendant is declared to be *rectus in curia*. By a happy coincidence δικαιοσύνη means both righteousness and justification. But justification in the Pauline sense is neither a legal fiction nor a mere play on words. On the contrary it is a genuine religious experience — one which is fundamental in the religious consciousness.

As a Jew, Paul was intent on attaining righteousness, but he became convinced by experience and observation that this was impossible under the Mosaic law. It should, however, be recognized that the Apostle did not, like the Jews, mean by righteousness a conscientious and on the whole successful keeping of the law. He understood it in the absolute sense of sinlessness.[2]

Paul had a high ethical ideal and a clear consciousness of his own moral failure, and along with these he also possessed a vivid sense of the power of sin. Only after he had become a believer and entered into mystical fellowship with Christ did he experience a sense of forgiveness and spiritual peace. Hence he writes to

[1] On Paul's idea of justification see Ropes in *op. cit.*, XXII (1903), 211 ff.

[2] Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, I, 495.

the Colossians that in Christ "we have our deliverance, namely the forgiveness of our sins";[1] and he reminds them that the Lord forgave them.[2] For those who are "in Christ" the power of sin is abolished, and consequently there is no condemnation for them. They have been set free in Christ Jesus "from the law of sin and death" by "the law of the Spirit of life," which has taken its place.[3]

As believers have experienced forgiveness in Christ, the Apostle exhorts them to forgive each other, if one has been wronged by another.[4] This is a sacred obligation which rests upon each one in return for what he himself has received.

It is now clear why the Apostle Paul, though he was born and reared a Jew, speaks so rarely in his epistles of repentance and forgiveness. The sense of forgiveness is quite as important for him as it is in the religion of Israel or in Judaism or in the teaching of Jesus, but it is attained in an entirely different way. The believer

[1] Colossians 1 : 14. Cf. also Ephesians 1 : 7, which is parallel to the foregoing passage. Τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν (τῶν παραπτωμάτων in Ephesians), which is in apposition to τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, is a present experience of the believer, and hence ἀπολύτρωσις is not eschatological here, as it sometimes is in Paul.

[2] Cf. Colossians 3 : 13. Ὁ κύριος, which is preferable to ὁ Χριστός here, refers to Christ. Elsewhere forgiveness comes from God. Cf. the parallel passage in Ephesians 4 : 32, where it is said that "God forgave in Christ." But since believers experience forgiveness in fellowship with Christ and by virtue of his death, the Apostle can also speak of Christ's forgiving them.

[3] Cf. Romans 8 : 1 f. Κατάκριμα is the condemnation which God has pronounced in the law, and which leads to death (7 : 24). In verse 2 ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς is contrasted with τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου. The former is the rule of the divine Spirit, whose essential nature is life; and the latter is the rule of sin conceived as an evil power which brings death in its train (6 : 16). The prepositional phrase ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ is best taken with the verb ἠλευθέρωσεν (de Wette, Meyer, Sanday-Headlam, B. Weiss).

[4] Cf. Colossians 3 : 13 and Ephesians 4 : 32.

in Christ experiences the sense of forgiveness in mystical fellowship with Christ, through whose death on the cross the power of sin was broken and abolished.

This view of forgiveness is thoroughly mystical. It sprang from the religious experience and reflection of a great Christian mystic, and it can be apprehended in its full scope only by those who are themselves endowed with a mystical temperament.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS AND JEWISH CHRISTIANITY

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The Epistle to the Romans is a great work of literary art, and can be understood only in the light of that consideration. The countless prim attempts to state baldly its purpose generally fail because they do not recognize that, as a work of art, the book springs from various motives, has many facets, is often condensed and elliptic just in order to make the desired emotional impression, and reveals its heart only as the reader feels its power. It is nearly all that it has been called — and more. It is truly a presentation of the main principles of Paul's theology; it is likewise a letter drawn out by an occasion and actually sent to the group of persons to whom it is addressed; and it is none the less a spontaneous expression of the soul of the writer, who, for the very joy of utterance, pours out the great convictions that glorify for him the world and the moment of its history in which, inwardly transfigured, he lives. But these qualities are bound together by a single purpose, and if that be missed, the student will lose his way in perplexed half-understanding. That purpose is not, as in Galatians, the argued defense of Paul's conception of pure Christian doctrine against those who add to or omit from what he deems its perfect completeness. Nor is he striving to win unbelievers to Christian faith. His purpose in Romans is to strengthen and deepen the existing Christian faith

of those to whom he writes — a faith resting on conceptions which the author throughout recognizes as pure and worthy.

Paul begins (chapters 1–5) by celebrating the glory of the gospel in which God, saviour and saving (*δίκαιος καὶ δικαιῶν*), has out of his unspeakable love offered salvation (*δικαιοσύνη*) [1] to all in this needy world who will believe in Jesus Christ; and by explaining how in this gospel is gloriously fulfilled the imperishable promise made to Abraham; and, harking farther back, by pointing out how the initial sin of Adam, with all its dolorous train of human death, has now lost its baneful power through the obedience likewise of one man (strange parallel!), in the unparalleled gift prompted by God's excess of grace.

The Apostle writes in an exalted strain, himself profoundly stirred by these great selected and emphasized aspects of the gospel, and it is plain that he is intensely eager to stir his readers. But to stir them to what emotion and to what permanent attitude of mind and will? Is his purpose only to show the Roman Christians what a sound and admirable thinker he is, in spite of tales that have been told them? By no means. His own personality comes to the fore less than in many of his other writings. His thought is concentrated on its object — the glory of the gospel of God concerning His Son. As in these five chapters he sets forth

[1] For the fuller justification of the view of the meaning of *δικαιοσύνη* and of Romans 3 : 25 f. here assumed, I may refer to my article, "'Righteousness' and 'The Righteousness of God' in the Old Testament and in St. Paul," in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXII (1903), 211–227, in which I have tried to show that Paul's language must be explained from the usage found abundantly in the second part of Isaiah and in the Psalms, and that when so explained his thought and language become clear. See also G. F. Moore, *Judaism* (1927), II, pp. 171–172.

ideas which are of the essence of the gospel, although they do not constitute its whole essence, he cannot, indeed, help touching on various convictions for which, as we know from other sources, he had at times to fight; but these do not form the salient point of his present discussion. They are incidental, do not reveal his motive for writing, are not emphasized, but rather are assumed as in principle accepted by his readers. The only intelligible main purpose of this great utterance, carefully planned and brilliantly carried through, is so to strengthen in Christian faith readers already committed to it that inner indifference will not cause them to grow cold and thus be exposed to the cunning arguments of enemies who would like to see Christians turn apostate and the Christian church languish and disappear.

To inner indifference any human state of mind is liable that rests on faith and hope in that which we see not. And by outspoken and active enemies aiming at its destruction the Christian church was in fact assailed. These were not the sincere but perverse Christians who, in their mission to Galatia, had tried to keep the church a Jewish sect, nor those others, of whatever origin, who insisted, as at Corinth, on a dangerous "spiritual" Christianity [1] or, as at Colossæ, taught a combination of Christian faith and ascetic philosophy. All these were, in claim and doubtless in all sincerity, friends, though dangerous and demoralizing friends, of Christianity. The enemies were naturally, and legitimately enough for reasons that need not here be rehearsed, the

[1] For this view of the meaning of the difficulties at Corinth, which throws much clear light on the problems of both I Corinthians and II Corinthians, see Kirsopp Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* (1911), pp. 102–252.

Jews. What Paul is trying to do in these chapters is to stir enthusiastic gratitude to God in the hearts of his Roman readers. If this can be accomplished, their faith will be so warm and eager that they will be proof against the attacks of open enemies. Such incitement to feeling carries its own end and aim within itself, and is undertaken for its own sake. The precious vigor of health and an immunity against the incursion of disease are but two sides of the same pulsing life. In such a treatment occasion nowhere arises for the author to make an explicit statement of his purpose.

The only passages in these chapters which raise serious question of a further, secondary purpose are two, and they have something of a common character. In 3 : 1–8, many ideas treated later in the epistle at greater length are briefly sketched.[1] Chapters 9–11 are foreshadowed in 3 : 1–7, and more slightly chapters 6–8 in 3 : 7–8; but throughout the eight verses (and possibly also in the desperately obscure προεχόμεθα of 3 : 9) the aim is unmistakable of reserving — in spite of what has gone before and what is to follow — a certain special dignity for "the Jew." To this corresponds πρῶτον in 1 : 16 (if it be genuine), 2 : 9 and 10, in spite of 2 : 11. And the discussion of the relation of the gospel to the law and to the promise given to Abraham, begun in 3 : 31 and continued through chapter 4, has the same turn — a guarding of the dignity of the Jewish religion even in spite of the clear statement that the promise takes precedence of the law (cf. also 5 : 20)

[1] Similarly the fine passage 5 : 1–11 treats briefly of hope and its grounds, and so introduces the theme which is fully expounded in chapters 6–8 with an ever increasing weight of thought and a larger and larger expansion that finally culminate in the power and loftiness of 8 : 31–39.

and is fulfilled in the gospel. The conscious purpose of these recurrent and — to the modern reader — surprising caveats is not to be overlooked, and only later becomes plain.

At the close of chapter 5, as also at the close of chapters 8 and 11, Paul has deliberately indicated by an elevated, carefully wrought, and highly rhetorical conclusion the end of a main division of his epistle, and now with chapter 6 a new approach is made. Chapters 6–8 need not here be analyzed in detail. In order to present with still undiminished fervor and feeling another aspect of the Christian gospel, equally calculated to evoke the gratitude and enthusiasm of his readers, Paul raises a possible objection. His motive is not so much danger to his general contention from any plausibility which may inhere in this objection, but rather to expound the glorious reasons why the objection does not, and cannot, hold good. The Christian gospel not only is an offer of justification by faith, which has so far been the main theme, but also promises new and sure *power* for the promotion of praiseworthy conduct and godly character, a power effected by the immanent working of Christ and of the Holy Spirit in the transformed believer.

There is doubtless more than one reason why this should be set forth at length. Paul's general treatment, his deliberate emphasis, and especially the way in which his thought expands into the highly rhetorical and almost poetical outburst about Christian hope with which chapter 8 closes, seem to imply that the great position taken in chapters 6–8 has not only a general but also a specific motive, and that he projects these considerations at his readers because they need them

for their own souls' health. It may even be that he has in mind Christians like the "spiritual persons" (πνευματικοί) at Corinth, who believed themselves a new creature in Christ and therefore raised above the necessity of attending to the practical problems of duty and discipline. He perhaps hints in 8 : 12–13 that even those who are in the Spirit need to recognize that they are debtors, under obligation to mortify the deeds of the body.

Another secondary reason for the discussion, suggested by the form in which it is introduced in chapter 6, is perhaps to be assumed. The raising of an objection purely in order to meet it and so introduce in the rebuttal the writer's positive thought is, indeed, a mode of composition perfectly familiar in ancient and modern literature; yet we may well believe (cf. 3 : 8) that the objection was actually made by opponents of Paul. Who were these opponents? The obvious answer is: Jews — who wished by a kind of *reductio ad absurdum* to show that Paul's so-called gospel cut the nerve of morals, and endangered what was dearest to right-minded and earnest men. It is true that the same argument was also susceptible of being used by Jewish Christians, "Judaizers" in the proper sense of that term, like those who had made trouble earlier in Galatia (so, apparently, Galatians 5 : 13–25). But in the argument in Romans there is nothing which suggests that such Jewish Christians were the source of opposition rather than non-christian Jews; the latter must have tried at all times and everywhere, and surely in Rome, to destroy the Christian church in its cradle by the use of every available argument. These chapters 6–8 are ordinarily taken as implying that Paul had

Jewish-Christian objectors in mind, but in fact they furnish no evidence at all for the question of whether the supposed objectors were Jewish Christians or hostile Jews who were not Christians. The objection might equally well have come from either group, and so far as chapters 6–8 are concerned, it still remains to be proved that there were any Jewish Christians in Rome who opposed Paul's teachings.

The third clearly marked main division of the epistle comprises chapters 9–11. It is addressed to Gentiles, as is apparent from the writer's attitude all through it (with his consistent reference to Gentiles in the second person and to Jews in the third) and particularly from the warning at the close, in which, in the allegory of the olive-tree, Paul explains concisely his view of the mutual relation of Jews and Gentiles in connection with God's salvation, and warns the Gentiles against arrogance toward the Jewish race. The readers, he implies, are in danger of such arrogance because of the sovereign grace of God which has brought about "the riches of the Gentiles." They must remember that God has not rejected his people whom he foreknew, that, although the rest of Israel were hardened, at least a remnant have obtained what Israel sought; and he declares that the present strange dispensation will at last lead to the restoration of the natural branches to their own tree. The singular goodness of God to the Gentiles should induce gratitude and humility and fear toward God, not boasting and high-mindedness toward the Jews who seem at present to have failed of their proud heritage.

We find here, clear and emphatic, the same interest that has already shown itself repeatedly in the epistle

(so 1 : 3, 9, 16; 3 : 1 f.; 3 : 31–4 : 25; also 15 : 27). And this is not, as is sometimes claimed, a concession made to the merely relative importance of the Jewish religion, or a qualification of Paul's central doctrine that justification is by faith in Jesus Christ; he is impelled to these utterances by a positive interest in ideas which pertain to his deepest convictions and illustrate a side of his thought second to no other in its importance for the whole history of Christianity. It may be added that the contrast drawn in the allegory is between Christians and Jews, not between Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians.

The whole section (chapters 9–11) must be understood in the light of the conclusion toward which Paul drives. It would, indeed, be capable of serving as a reply to hostile Jews, for they might object that the Christian view of the church (with only its sorry remnant of members of Jewish origin) as constituting the true people of God is equivalent to declaring that God's promises to Israel have failed. (In passing, let it be observed that such an objection could not be made by Jewish Christians.) It could also form an effective defense of Paul against a charge of heartless treason to the convictions and hopes in which he had been reared. But such purposes do not suffice to explain the impassioned sentences of this elaborate discussion. It certainly is not intended as a mere theodicy, nor as an exposition of the divine sovereignty for the purposes of a system of theology, although at one point the exigencies of Paul's argument lead him to treat of the latter subject. Rather, as in the earlier sections, the motive is not polemic but positive and didactic (as is also the case when the same ideas are briefly resumed in

15 : 8 f.).[1] To the Gentile Christians has been fulfilled what God promised afore by his prophets in the holy Scriptures, and it is their right to be proud of that privilege; but they have an equal duty to recognize what this relation to God and his salvation involves. Standing in the direct line of God's saving work, attested in the promises to Israel, now brought to pass in Christ, they do not lack roots in the past, are not a mere new creation without guiding traditions and without responsibility. It is the God of the Jews whom they worship; the promises they enjoy were made to Israel; and the Jewish race, beloved for the fathers' sake, is the link which binds them to God's great elective purpose and connects them with the depth of the riches of his wisdom and knowledge and with his unsearchable judgments. To forget this and be wise in their own conceits would in Paul's view destroy the soundness of Christian thought and life.

For rightness of life depends on soundness of thought, and so with a mighty "therefore" Paul turns to the chapters (12–15) which follow and in which practical exhortations finally merge in an extended personal communication. In this practical section a great variety of topics of universal application are touched on in the Apostle's noblest strain, but among them we need dwell only on chapter 14 long enough to remark that the contrast here between weak and strong — that is, the scrupulous and the free — is not that of I Corinthians, and does not imply a conflict between Jewish and Gentile Christians. The "weak" at Rome

[1] Note how in 15 : 10 and 12, in two of the quotations from the Old Testament, the phrases "with his people" and "there shall be the root of Jesse" are expressly included in Paul's citation.

are ascetics of some type (the ideas current at that time permit various conjectures) who abstain from wine and are vegetarians as well as superstitious observers of days. For them (unlike the Corinthian weak) Paul has no personal sympathy in their scruples; his sole concern is that they be not browbeaten by the strong and that on their part they refrain from such censoriousness as would be an abuse of the tolerance extended to them. Paul's sole concern is that a united church shall with one accord glorify God and be edified. Through the whole section of practical exhortation runs the principle: "Love is the fulfilling of the law."

In the passage (15 : 8–13) with which the fourth and last main section of the epistle closes, the three earlier sections are adverted to: chapters 9–11 in verses 8–12, chapters 1–4 in the "joy and peace" (cf. 5 : 1 f.) of the benediction in verse 13, while in the last-named verse "hope" (cf. chapters 6–8) is made the outcome of the whole. Is it fanciful to say that the epistle is systematically built up on the framework of the triad, Faith (chapters 1–5), Hope (chapters 6–8, followed by 9–11), and Love (chapters 12–15 : 7)?

In the direct personal address which follows (15 : 14–33), the Apostle reverts to the tone of the opening passage of the epistle (1 : 1–16). His own special grace is to be a minister of Christ Jesus unto the Gentiles, and this justifies him in addressing the Romans and in his plan to visit them and then to go on still further west to Spain. Here again (15 : 27 f.) he hints at the thought so prominent in his mind of the debt which the Gentiles owe to the Jews (represented in this case by the believing Jews), in whose spiritual things they have been made partakers.

Chapter 16 may or may not have been a part of the great Epistle to the Romans. It contains in verses 17–20 a warning against divisive and dangerous teachers, but whether or not these objectionable persons were already carrying on their nefarious work in Rome is not clear. They have often been regarded as Jewish Christian opponents of Paul. It can only be said that nothing in the language employed to describe them gives any reason for this identification, and that the reference to their use of "smooth words and fine language" (*per illecebras ac blandimenta sermonum*, as Ambrosiaster puts it) to beguile the hearts of the innocent does not naturally point in that direction. A different type of error is more likely to be meant.

The review of the Epistle to the Romans seems to me to make clear that Paul nowhere betrays knowledge of any Judaizing movement in Rome or fear of such a danger in the future. If he replies to arguments which Jewish Christians, such as were the emissaries in Galatia, might have used, it is only because these arguments were the natural weapons of *unbelieving* Jews in their warfare upon the church and Christian faith itself. What he is trying to impress on these Roman Gentile Christians is, first, the glory of the Christian gospel they have received and hold, and, secondly, the importance of due recognition of what is significant for them in the religion of Israel. This is the case, though not with equal explicitness, in all the main sections. The God who apart from the gospel has revealed his wrath against Jew and Gentile alike and who in the gospel has revealed his "righteousness," is essentially the Holy One of Israel and the Lord who pitieth them that fear him. As to morals,

Christian life in no wise lowers standards, as compared with Judaism, but provides new and all-powerful forces which insure progress in moral character and are the ground of hope of fitness for eternal life. When moral standards are presented in detailed precepts, they prove to be drawn in the main from the high ideals of the Jewish moral system. Finally, on the promises to Israel rests the validity of Christian hope; the present failure of Israel to believe in Christ Jesus does not indicate any failure of God's promises, and gives no ground for any refusal by Christians to recognize the ancient divinely granted prerogatives of Paul's countrymen or their own debt to Israel.

If this conception of the Epistle to the Romans be accepted, we have no reason to suppose that at that date controversy had arisen at Rome between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians, or that Paul anticipated that such controversy would arise. This is important for our general view of the Apostolic Age. The Judaizing propaganda seems to have died down after the Galatian episode, checked by the prompt and effective counter of Paul. Neither at Corinth nor at Philippi nor at Colossæ does the evidence point to Judaizing by a Jewish-Christian party, though such an interpretation has often been put upon the epistles in question. At Corinth and Colossæ the disturbing element seems to have consisted, in part at least, of Christians of Jewish race, but their aim was not to turn the Christian religion among the Gentiles into Jewish paths. Their purposes and interests were, indeed, quite the opposite of that. In the Epistle to the Philippians (chapter 3) "the dogs" (verses 2–5) are not Jewish Christians but hostile unbelieving Jews, and the

"enemies of the cross of Christ" (verses 18 f.) against whom Paul had often warned his readers are either hostile Jews or, more probably, representatives of demoralizing tendencies at the precise nature of which we can only guess.

If this is the case, a consistent view of the course of events in the period can be gained. The Judaizing emissaries from Jerusalem, who failed in Galatia, did not in later years venture on another, and less hopeful, experiment further west, at a time when Paul's enhanced prestige would have made him a more dangerous opponent in that particular controversy. Hence, what is conspicuous under any view of the subjects discussed in this paper, the absence of adequate attention by Paul in any epistle except Galatians to danger at this vital point. What Paul dreaded in the difficult situations which successively presented themselves at Thessalonica, at Corinth, and elsewhere, was not too *much* Judaism, but rather that the Christians would retain too *little* of the sound Jewish theology and morals on which Christianity rested. This danger took many forms, and later developed into phenomena familiar to us in the Christian history of the second century. One of the chief contributions of Paul to Christianity was that he saw the danger and, from the point of view of wholesome Jewish ideals, did his best to forestall it.

CONCURRENT PHASES OF PAUL'S RELIGION

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The religious expression of Paul has long presented to interpreters grave difficulty. No verse of the New Testament is truer than one in II Peter which declares that in our beloved brother's epistles are some things hard to be understood. Although he is the best known of the early Christians — ever so much more fully transmitted to us than Jesus, his master — he remains nevertheless a confessed enigma, and no phase of him is more puzzling than his religion.

The reasons for this obscurity may be several. No doubt our modern preconceptions are partly to blame. We come to Paul's letters with a different outlook from his own and cannot follow his mind in its workings or look with his eyes. He is concrete where we should be abstract, or he uses figures which we understand too literally. He writes out of and into a different *Weltanschauung* from our own. A wealth of thought lies behind his abbreviated expression; it is due to long and varied experience as a preacher, and motifs capable of clear and elaborate treatment in the letters are given but passing mention or are quickly combined. Perhaps it is the variety of his approach that causes our modern difficulty. He has been well called a "prismatic" personality. He has a many-track mind. An analysis of some of the different phases of his religion provides the best hope of a basis for the better understanding of it.

§ 1

What then are some of the ways of analysis to which the Apostle's mind lends itself? The category of Paul's thinking which we may consider first is the apocalyptic. It is the expectation of a series of events in the future, connected with the end of the world. The importance of this element in the New Testament is a modern rediscovery. Such eschatology is a Jewish belief, and it colors all the New Testament. It is unmistakably present in Paul. It is a philosophy of future history which he held not with absolute definiteness of detail but with undoubted confidence of expectation. The events were real events, not pictorial symbols. They included the coming of the Messiah, the resurrection of the dead and the "rapture" of the living Christians, and the day of judgment of all men at which Christ and the "saints" will officiate. These events marked the transition from this age to the next, and Paul believed that this crisis was near. The night is far spent, the day is at hand. The extensive account in I Corinthians on the resurrection and that in II Thessalonians on the Antichrist give a partial picture of Paul's expectation. They agree with what we know from other sources of the general Pharisaic anticipation, and we may safely suppose that the whole current program was held by the Apostle and not merely the parts of it which he has occasion to express in the surviving letters.

The reality of this element in Paul's thinking is clear from the constant and incidental allusions to it in his discussion of quite different subjects. It has something to do with his attitude on marriage and slavery. Indif-

ference to one's lot in this age is possible because of the nearness of the next. "The time is shortened . . . the fashion of this world passeth away." The Lord's supper is a temporary symbol between Christ's passion and advent. It "shows forth the Lord's death till he come."

It behooves modern Christians to remember, whether they like it or not, that it was this series of ideas which provided the first framework of their religion and constituted an important factor in its early propagation. Jesus' message was: "The kingdom of God is at hand." Jesus himself was first defined, either by himself or by his immediate followers, as the Messiah. The definition was intelligible only to Jews, for Messiah is a figure in the Jewish apocalyptic hope. The definition was forced, since Jesus had not yet done what a Messiah was expected to do. On the contrary, so far from bringing in a new era, he had been killed as a criminal. For Christians, therefore, his Messiahship lay largely in the future. But in spite of these limitations they insisted that Jesus really was the Messiah, and they felt surer than they had done as Jews of the certainty of the apocalyptic program.

Now Paul retains this feature of early Christian Messianism, its future program with Jesus as the Messiah who will come on the clouds summoning dead and living with the trumpet call of the archangel. He usually calls Jesus "Messiah" or, as the Greek renders it, "Christ." But he seems to take it for granted. He does not argue it, as the Gospels and Justin Martyr do. Perhaps, dealing with non-Jews, he would not find the identification useful or valuable. It is still an identification that is too devious for effective Christian

propaganda in our own day. We may perhaps, therefore, lay it to Paul's credit that, while accepting the equation, Jesus is the Messiah, he did not labor it, but went on to interpret Jesus by other categories, religious and philosophical, which were better adapted to the Gentile world.

Paul also sits loose to the ethical defects of eschatology. It would be unfair to think of him as one whose eye is fixed mainly on the future, living in this world only for the next. His Christianity is not primarily other-worldly. His redemption is not merely a promise of immortality. His ethics are not merely a mercenary system of gaining heaven and escaping hell. Nor does his sense of the nearness of the end warp his moral standards, as it might be expected to do. At Thessalonica he condemns idleness and excitement due to premature expectations among the Christians there. His whole work and his example could hardly have been better if he had foreseen the history of the last eighteen hundred years. He builded better than he knew, because he was laying foundations that were sound, whether for one generation or for one hundred.

The this-worldliness of Paul is plain in his use of his eschatology. The future world is already breaking into this world. Its experiences are beginning now. The spirit in us here is the earnest, or pledge, guaranteeing our ultimate redemption from the body. The resurrection is already morally effective. Paul, like other early Christians, talks about eternal life, the reign of God, and the power of Christ's resurrection as things realized in this life.

§ 2

A second category of Paul's religious thinking may be called the category of dispensations. He looks upon history as the succession of God's plans for mankind. First God has one scheme of dealing and then another. The coming of Jesus represents a change of schemes, the introduction of a new plan. Paul does not say that God has just invented it. He has always intended it. It has been kept secret a long time and only just revealed. When the fullness of time came, God made it known to the wonder and surprise of both men and angels.

This category of thinking is like the apocalyptic outlook in that each is a philosophy of history. Both divide history into two main sections. Probably both are Jewish in origin, for the category of time is a peculiarly Jewish way of thinking. Perhaps they are not entirely separate, though in Paul they seem largely separate. One of them deals with history as future events, the other rather as past schemes of God governing mankind. In the latter the transition has just been made; in the former it is imminent. From the viewpoint of God's past dispensations, mankind has recently been offered a new way of getting along. Announcement of this new provision rather than the promise of something in the future is the good news that Paul has now to report.

Any one familiar with the Epistle to the Romans has no need to be told what these two successive dispensations are which Paul contrasts with each other. In the older one, God gave the Jews a law and required them to keep it. That is the ordinary Jewish view.

But it is not so clear what his plan for Gentiles was. The Jews would probably not bother themselves much about them. One might say that God had given the Gentiles a chance which they had rejected. Paul implies something of this kind. But in any case, God's plan did not produce righteousness in either Jew or Gentile. The failure of the old dispensation is fully portrayed by Paul at the beginning of Romans.

But the important news is that there has been a change in God's whole plan of administration. "Now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ unto all them that believe; for there is no distinction." It is not new. God had planned it long ago, the law and the prophets testified to it. In Galatians Paul represents it as having been exemplified by Abraham 430 years before the law was given, but it had only just come into operation. Hence Paul's thrill over its novelty. It is "the secret which has been kept untold through times eternal but now is manifested, and by the scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the eternal God, is made known unto all the nations unto the obedience of faith." In Ephesians we find a great deal said about this open secret or "mystery," as it is usually translated. For Paul as a Jew and a missionary, a significant feature of this new plan is that it includes Gentiles on the same level as Jews. For us the interesting thing is the way he links it up with Christ.

It is Christ that God put forth to demonstrate the plan, and Paul also placarded Christ crucified before the eyes of the world. It is God's plan, but the center

of the plan is Christ. Thus Paul speaks of it in one place as "the mystery of Christ which in other generations was not made known unto the sons of men as it hath now been revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit, to wit, that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs, and fellow-members of the body and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel"; in another place he calls it "the mystery of [God's] will according to his good pleasure which he purposed in [Christ] unto a dispensation of the fullness of the times, to sum up all things in Christ."

But for an understanding of Paul's religion it is important for us to remember that none of this language is merely figurative. There has been a really new régime. No greater change came to France and Russia in their political revolutions than came to the world with Christ. Paul really believes that he knows God's latest plan for the world, a plan full of extraordinary generosity and beneficence, and he waxes enthusiastic over the good news which this means for mankind and especially for the Gentiles. Though in some letters we see this plan expounded principally in controversy, in others the enthusiasm of Paul is unmistakable. He feels himself the minister of a glorious ministration, the publisher of glad tidings remarkable as showing both the wealth of God's loving-kindness and his inscrutable wisdom.

§ 3

The third category of Paul's thinking about Christianity may be called the category of status. God's new plan for mankind brings a new status for the individual. Paul continues here his habit of contrast and describes

the status of the Christian in a great variety of terms. The terms are taken from human social institutions, as terms for religion have to be. But here again the very variety of terms warns us against making too much of any one of them. Several of them are taken from the field of law and jurisprudence. Clearly one of them is taken from the procedure of the criminal law court. Justification means simply acquittal, and the new status of the Christian is like that of one whom the judge acquits of whatever crime he may or may not have committed. Redemption is another term familiar to us in theology but is really a secular legal term for the emancipation of a slave. The new status of the Christian is like that of a slave who is set free by a ransom that is paid for him. Adoption is also a legal term and describes a custom familiar in the Roman Empire. The new status of the Christian is that of a slave or orphan who is officially adopted as son and heir by a wealthy and kindly father, or even that of an own child who graduates from the situation of a minor controlled by nurses and guardians into the freedom of the millionaire's boy upon reaching his majority.

In all these terms Paul seems to be making religion into a business or legal transaction, and there is no wonder that he has been misconstrued by the older generation and disliked by the younger generation as cramping religion into mechanical or formal terms. He is accused of making God an exacting creditor or an angry judge. But how utterly opposed is this criticism to Paul's own intention! Every one of these businesslike terms is used by Paul to show that it is not a businesslike transaction. Every metaphor is intended to deny the very thought it suggests. The debt is not

collected but forgiven; the accused is not condemned but set free. God waives all his just claims. The new and favorable status of the Christian is one that he in no sense secures by his own merits. He is by nature guilty, but God acquits him; a slave, but God frees him; an orphan, but God adopts him; an outcast, but God reinstates him; an enemy, but God treats him as a friend. The metaphor aims to show how little man deserves, and, in contrast, how generous and forgiving God is. Grace is Paul's word for this attitude of God. Christ as the embodiment of God's benign purpose naturally appears in all these metaphors. It would be a long and difficult task to examine how Christ and especially his death are associated in Paul's mind with each of these figures. Paul evidently believes that such connection exists, but he rarely tells in detail just what it is and how it works. His phrases are familiar: Christ is the means of propitiation for our sins; Christ is the ransom price paid for our emancipation; Christ is the Passover lamb sacrificed for our purification; through Christ we become heirs of God; Christ became a curse for us to free us from a curse and sin for us that we might be acquitted of our sins. God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself; Christ made peace through the blood of his cross.

It is right for us to call these ideas metaphors and to avoid the danger of carrying metaphors too far. They are illustrations, a whole series of illustrations of the same fact. It is a wrong and most regrettable habit to distinguish them as different stages: justification, followed by sanctification, followed by redemption. They are concurrent — synonyms for the same fact. But we must not think, because they are metaphors or

because there are so many of them, that the idea for which they stand is metaphorical too. The underlying fact for Paul was perfectly real and sure. The metaphors are not fiction; at least, it is not merely fictitious or imagined change of status to which they refer. Call it what you will, for Paul the Christian status is to be explained as a new creation. The believer is a new man; he leads a new life. He is now a free man, a son of God. His new position is as real and as happy as that of Orestes when he knows himself acquitted and the Furies propitiated, or of Antonio when he sees his bond to Shylock made null and void (Christ, also, says Paul, blotted out the note of hand that was against us), or of the slave boy Booker T. Washington when he hears the Emancipation Proclamation read in his master's mansion in old Virginia, or of American captives finally ransomed from Chinese bandits.

§ 4

The fourth phase of Paul's thought I must describe briefly, though it is extremely important for understanding him and also perhaps is the most foreign to our ways of thinking. Fortunately a clear-cut statement of it is now available in English in Professor Carré's book, *Paul's Doctrine of Redemption*. I may call it the idea of cosmic conflict. Like his contemporaries, Paul believed that the world was in the control of invisible, supernatural, personal powers. These were of two kinds, good and evil, God and his angels, Satan and his devils. They were in constant conflict, and the fate of the world, of mankind, and of the individual rests upon the progress of the battle between them. Heretofore, thought Paul, the powers

of evil had prevailed. God had been beaten by Satan when Adam and Eve sinned, and since that time Sin and Death have reigned in the world. By sin and death in this passage Paul does not mean sin and death as facts of human experience as we mean them. He uses these words sometimes in that way, but he also uses them as the names of two principal hostile spirits in the great battle between God and Satan. They are as much persons as God and Satan are and should be spelled with capitals. They reign over all mankind. All men are held prisoners by Sin. All men are enslaved by Death. The present evil age belongs to the powers of darkness, which are spoken of as "the rulers of this age." Among other names for God's enemies are the terms principality, power, throne, and dominion. They are apparently orders of Satan's angels, as Milton recognized in employing them.

The Christian hope and confidence means a change in this unhappy condition. In order for the world to be redeemed as a whole or for individuals to improve, God must get the mastery over Satan and his allies. Precisely this victory is what Paul awaits with assurance or announces as already accomplished. Mankind who have waited during God's period of defeat for their redemption may now be assured that the tide of battle has turned. God "delivered us out of the power of darkness and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love." Christ's coming, especially his resurrection, marks the decisive event in the great conflict. Death has plainly been defeated. The risen Christ has been "set far above every Principality and Power and Dominion and Authority." "If Christ had not risen our faith would be vain . . . but as it is,

Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of them that are asleep. As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. For Christ must reign until he hath put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be abolished is Death. Then cometh the end when he shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have abolished every Principality and every Authority and Power." That is the victory which Christ's death guarantees; meanwhile the Christian and indeed the whole creation groans in expectation waiting for deliverance from decay. But Paul is "persuaded that neither Death nor angels nor principalities nor powers shall be able to separate us from the love of God." "We are more than conquerors through him that loved us." Death's victory is canceled. Its sting of Sin is removed. God's law rules in us instead of Sin's law. "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord, Jesus Christ."

In this category, as in every other, Christ holds a central place. His death, instead of being a defeat for God, is only a strategic retreat which gives the victory.[1] He appeared incognito in the guise of a man and suffered death, and so he outwitted and overcame the enemy. The demonic rulers of this world did not recognize him in this disguise; "if they had recognized him, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." In his death and his victory over it, having despoiled the Principalities and the Powers, he made a show of them, openly triumphing over them in his cross.

Again let me emphasize the reality of this element in Paul. Our generation is notoriously indifferent to sin,

[1] Cf. Hebrews 2 : 14.

but Sin with a capital *S* means even less to us. Death we know as a human fact, but Death personified seems to us sheer poetic fiction. *Paradise Lost* is to us good poetry, but it is neither good history nor good philosophy. For Paul, however, the situation is reversed. The conflict of the spirits of good and evil is not a poetic drama. The actors are not mythological. It is the real decisive battle in the world's history, more fateful than Marathon or Waterloo. Up there in the heavenly places the struggle is waged and settled; there are fighting the real forces, of which our own lives are but a shadowy reflection. But even our human life is a fraction of that conflict. We are to share God's might, to wear his armor, to ply his weapons against "our common foe." "Put on," he cries, "God's suit of mail that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil. For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against Principalities and Powers, against the World Rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places." In this world war there are no non-combatants.

§ 5

A fifth category of Paul's thinking is ethical. This aspect of religion is familiar to us and congenial to our modern prejudices. Many are inclined to count morality the whole of religion. It is plain moral character, sheer goodness. Ethics seems to us much less fictitious than the other categories. It is less remote from real experience; it is concrete and tangible in a sense that the apocalyptic hope, the twofold dispensations, the changing of status, or the cosmic conflict can never be to us. I need not insist that love,

joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, and self-control were objective realities to Paul because they are realities to us also, as well as their opposites like fornication, uncleanness, strife, drunkenness, evil desire, and covetousness. But Paul's ethical standard is intimately associated with all his other categories. Like them, it is a clear-cut dualism. Right and wrong conduct are as explicit as the judgment day; they are as different as this age and the next. They are the works of God or the Devil. There is no relativity about vice and virtue for Paul. The Kingdom of God is said to consist of righteousness and peace and joy. God's new plan for mankind, man's new status before God, God's full triumph over Sin and the Devil, means simple goodness in men, not merely attributed goodness or vicarious goodness or goodness deferred to the next life, but real present character. Paul does not distinguish ethics from any other phase of religion. It so happens that in Greek the same root (δικαιο) means legal innocence and moral excellence, and Paul shifts from one meaning of the words to the other apparently without noticing it. Nor does he distinguish between the cosmic conflict and the personal conflict. He is not aware of the different senses of sin which we would distinguish by the use of a capital *S* or small letter *s*. Our victory over our sins is part and parcel of God's victory over that personal demonic slave-driver named Sin. Professor Weiss was quite right in saying that Paul felt himself saved by miracle and that he based even his ethical system upon supernaturalism.[1]

For the same reason Paul links up his ideas of good-

[1] *Paul and Jesus* (1909), Eng. tr., pp. 111 f.

ness with Christ. Somehow in all these categories Christ's death and resurrection seem to Paul to have an organic connection with the transition — whether it be from this age to the next, from the old dispensation to the new, from guilt to acquittal, from slavery to freedom, or from the era of Satanic control to the reign of God. So the transition from selfishness and immorality to goodness is also due to Christ. How Christ produces the moral transformation, Paul does not attempt to say. It is enough to know that he does effect it. There were plenty of men and women in Corinth and Ephesus who really were transformed. We die with Christ to sin; we rise with Christ to righteousness. But we shall not do justice to the concreteness and objectivity even of Paul's ethics if we try to explain in our own terms what Paul does not explain at all. Thus it is not enough to say that Christ's example of goodness stimulates us to be good, or that his death on the cross stimulates us to understand God and so to see and forsake sin.

§ 6

The place of this deeper explanation of the Christian's moral transformation is taken in Paul most nearly by what may be listed as sixth among our categories — the mystical. It includes all those inner changes, those new impulses and interior forces which give to the Christian life its new buoyancy and power and direction. It is hard enough for us to describe our own experiences, for they are too subjective. That is one reason why the word "mysticism" is so convenient; it is so vague in meaning. There is no doubt that Paul appreciated the existence of such an inner realm

of religion and struggled to express it with such terms as he had. His terms are still quite materialistic and objective; perhaps our modern psychology has really not much better ones. But there is no reason to deny the existence of religious experience because we can describe it so inadequately. Our clumsiness and Paul's must be overlooked if we are not going to limit our analysis of religion to what is definable and thereby leave out what is the most important part of Paul. Indeed we are in danger of making it all important in Paul, as though this were truly religion and the first four categories were only theology — this one experience, the rest expression.

Now, except for the ethical, all the categories we have discussed so far are external; they lie in man's environment, in history, in God's treatment, or in the supernatural battle-field. Even ethics is in a sense outside a man, it is his observable conduct or behavior. But true religion has an inward phase, man's own act alongside of God's, man's will and motive as well as his deed. I must not stop to describe Paul's idea of man's inward make-up or to test his solution of the problems which consciousness injects into what otherwise might seem a purely material universe. He is frankly dualistic, as he really has to be, if he is going to keep to the way in which things naturally present themselves to the human mind. His dualism between flesh and spirit fits in with all his other antitheses. I must confine myself to the two commonest of his terms for the interior phase of religion.

One of these terms is faith. To believe or to trust combines in our usual way of speaking an act of reason and an act of will. But our usual way of speaking is

very likely bad psychology. In any case what Paul means by faith is an attitude we seem voluntarily to take. It is our response to the objective facts in the other categories. For example, it means believing that our status is changed, that God has conquered Satan, that the day of the Lord will come, or that God has adopted his new plan. You cannot believe these things unless they have been presented to you. Hence the importance of announcing them; that is, of preaching the gospel. In relation to all four of these first categories, faith seems largely intellectual. To be sure, the intellectual appreciation of our new status with God goes further, just as any discovery that one is forgiven, or set free, or given an inheritance, is sure to go further than mere intellectual assent. Paul evidently believed the reaction from this discovery would affect conduct and would produce ethical results. Faith, therefore, is a profoundly moral attitude.

There is grave danger that we should make the mistake of thinking of Paul's faith as purely intellectual. Too often it has been expounded as mere assent to a proposition, like the signing of one's name to a creed. That the central fact of Paul's religion is not merely believing that something is so, is proved by the other terms he uses; for example, his other favorite formula, "in Christ Jesus." If the word "faith" or "believe" occurs in Paul's ten letters — noun and verb — 150 times, we may note that the phrase "in Christ" or its equivalent occurs even oftener, 164 times. To be a Christian is for Paul to be in Christ. The hope of the future is a hope in the Lord; the mystery of God is a mystery in Christ: the changed status is salvation in Christ Jesus, or redemption in

Christ Jesus, or being justified in Christ, or righteousness in Christ Jesus. Even faith is faith in Christ Jesus. These phrases and others like them baffle exact modern translation or explanation. Christ Jesus appears to be spoken of as a kind of new medium in which life is lived — like the atmosphere. Just as we live in the air and the air is in our bodies, so Paul can say both things of Christ. The Christian walks or stands in the Lord, and conversely Christ is revealed or formed in the Christian. Parallel with "those who are in Christ Jesus" is Paul's cry, "Christ liveth in me!" Note how he combines several terms in one passage: "With Christ I am crucified. It is no longer I who live but Christ lives in me — in faith I live." This is only the beginning of the list of varied expressions used by Paul for his mystical feeling.

What is this Christ Jesus in which Paul believes, in which he lives, and that lives in Paul? I have compared it with a kind of atmosphere or local medium. Paul makes a similar identification — for the word "Spirit" is used by Paul almost interchangeably with "Christ," and it means something rarefied, fluid, and immaterial like air. The Lord is the Spirit. The Spirit is in the Christian, and the Christian life is in the Spirit, just as the Christian and his Lord are reciprocally in each other.

Besides identifying Christ with the Spirit, Paul also nearly identifies this Christ with God. Among what later theology calls the three persons of the Trinity Paul makes very little distinction. Their names can often be exchanged in his phrases with no perceptible change of meaning. And so his Christ shares the qualities of both the others: from the Spirit the charac-

ter of immaterial substance like air which we can live in and have in us; from God the qualities of personality with all the welcome figures of character, of feeling, and of interpersonal fellowship.

With the Jesus of history, as presented in the Gospels, Paul's Christ has little in common. The Apostle of Jesus Christ lays little stress on the life and teachings of his famous fellow-countryman who was executed at Calvary. But that made Paul's Christ none the less real to him. We of this age find reality in Christianity because it is connected with an incident in human history and because in Christ we see God in human form; God breaking through into our world, appearing at a specific place and time. At the name of Jesus we turn our thoughts backward to Galilee and Jerusalem; Paul turns within or lifts his eyes to heaven. If we cannot share Paul's confidence and his feeling of warmth and intimacy for his spiritual exalted Christ, it is simply because we are different from Paul. But there have always been many devout persons to whom this kind of Christ gives more sense of reality than could the most confident acceptance of the story of a historical Jesus.

In speaking of Christ, therefore, as in all his reference to the inward phases of religion, Paul happily omits, as Deissmann says, "sharp, philosophically pointed definition. . . . If Paul had given a definition, he would have defined as a man of the ancients, in a manner more realistic, more physical, and more concrete than a speculative thinker of our own time. The apostle remains popular and, in true ancient style, vivid in his formulation. . . . There is no binding definition; we have the greatest possible latitude if we should wish

to translate the apostle's ideas concerning Christ into our own religious thought. To Paul the Spirit, God, the living Christ is a reality, the reality of all realities; therefore there was no need for him to puzzle over definitions." [1]

But this Christ — undefined, unhistorical, inapprehensible to our modern unmystical prejudices — was nevertheless the central point in Paul's mysticism. His simple creed is, "Jesus Christ is Lord." And Jesus Christ is also the unifying factor between all six categories of his religion.

The six headings chosen for describing Paul's religion must not be understood as an exhaustive or symmetrical analysis. They have been chosen as ways of approach to understanding certain selected features in his thought. Several of them seem to us unreal, foreign, speculative, imaginative, or repulsive, but they were chosen in part just because they are foreign and therefore in need of explanation. Naturally they leave a more unfavorable impression than an encomium on Paul or even a more balanced evaluation of his present-day contribution to religion would have given. But in the last two categories Paul needs no apology. Amid practical difficulties and limitations of language Paul moves about in the field of ethics with a certainty of touch which finds a warm response in every heart that has cultivated sound moral instincts. His hymn on love is a classic not only of literature but of ethics, far removed from the tinge of artificial rhetoric or sentimentalism. In his mysticism also, in spite of the

[1] A. Deissmann, *St. Paul, a Study in Social and Religious History*, Eng. tr. (1912), p. 129. Cf. 2nd Edit., Eng. tr. (1927), pp. 142 f.

greater insufficiency of terms, both ancient and modern, Paul is no mere wordmonger or visionary. The very soundness of his ethics shows that even in his religion he keeps his feet on the ground. More easily than might be supposed, any of us who reads a letter of Paul understands what feelings lie behind his curious though familiar phrases. Well may we covet something of his loyalty to unseen reality, and something of his confidence in a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness, that seems to work in us, liberating and reviving and reinforcing our unquenchable spiritual ambition.

SOME ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ASIA MINOR AFFECTING THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY

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If modern democracy seems sometimes disappointing, so did its Greek prototype. Twenty-three hundred years ago men were lamenting that it had failed to bring economic equality, while they were keenly aware of the longing for equality which political democracy had aroused. This longing found a twofold expression: on the one hand it provoked constantly repeated riots and social disorders in many Greek cities;[1] and on the other hand it gave birth in the minds of the philosophers to dreams of a more perfect state where equality would be realized. Outstanding examples were the ideal states of Plato and Zeno, the founders of the influential schools of the Academy and the Stoa respectively.

In order to provide a graphic expression for such philosophic theories, it was fashionable to clothe them in the dress of a fantastic story of some far-away island where the ideal state was already a reality. So originated the Atlantis of Plato, the Panchæa of Euhemerus, and the magic islands of Jambulos. A noteworthy feature of the last two is that they are lands of almost perpetual sunshine, and to the sun the islands of Jambulos and their inhabitants are dedicated.[2] These

[1] Cf. Kaerst, *Geschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters* (1901), I, 69; Ed. Meyer, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums" in *Kleine Schriften* (1910), p. 192 f.

[2] Diodorus, V, 44; II, 59.

were the original "Utopias." They became the models for a whole series, including Sir Thomas More's, scattered through the centuries. Indeed their essential elements always reappear, whenever men begin to wonder what would happen if kings would only be "philosophers." [1]

Alexander and his successors carried the Greek city and its liberating but unsatisfying democracy into the interior of Asia Minor and the Near East. They thus released awakening influences which remained dominant for a thousand years. The result was a varying amalgam of Greek and Oriental elements, the Greek in general contributing the outward form, the Oriental the inner substance of the organization of society; while underneath, as the driving forces of them all, were those universal needs and instincts which are the common inheritance of all humanity.

Alexander and the Diadochi were economically a steadying influence. They, and the Romans after them, sided naturally with the possessing classes in the social struggles within the Greek cities. Only in the course of their dynastic rivalries did they interfere sometimes on the side of the democratic parties. As a matter of course they favored the maintenance of "law and order," and they were generally anxious to stabilize and advance the prosperity of their dominions. They were great builders and patrons of trade and industry. Many of them were also interested in scientific agriculture, and sought systematically to increase the productivity of their realms. In particular this was true of

[1] Cf. on the whole subject Pöhlmann, *Geschichte der socialen Frage und des Socialismus in der antiken Welt* (1912), who shows there is very little new about modern socialism except its dogmatic theory of necessary evolution.

the Greek kings of Pergamon and Egypt. The Hellenistic world through their direction attained a capitalistic organization of trade, industry, and agriculture which in a surprising measure approached that of Europe and America to-day. In this they surpassed anything Rome succeeded in achieving, though she had at her disposal longer intervals of peace and larger areas of production.[1]

The economic stability and maturity of the Hellenistic kingdoms was disastrously affected, however, by the fatal defects of their foreign policy. They failed to establish conditions of unity or peace among themselves. The almost continuous warfare between the Hellenistic kings and the pretenders to their thrones now replaced with even greater persistence and futility the old warfare between the earlier city-states and between the social stratifications within their walls. The resources released by the better economic organization of the kingdoms were squandered in internecine and dynastic contests, until, utterly exhausted, one after another, they fell an easy prey to the eastward advance of Roman imperialism.

Though the Hellenistic régime largely suppressed the social warfare within the Greek cities, it did not bring any economic relief to the toiling masses of the population. The burden of the great military establishments and campaigns of the Diadochi all fell ultimately upon the shoulders of the poorer classes. The royal power and authority of the central governments made now the political expression of protest on the part of the proletarian elements practically impossible, but at the same

[1] Cf. especially Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926), pp. 3 f.

time it added immensely to the burdens they had to carry. Not only were the governmental expenses largely increased, but through a better organization of the economic forces in the interest of the ruling classes the burdens were deliberately fastened upon the native toilers. In Egypt in particular there was achieved a remarkable example of the efficient nationalization of agriculture and industry (state socialism), not in the interest of the people as a whole, but for the advantage of the Greek exploiting classes and especially of the Ptolemaic reigning house.[1]

When Asia Minor came to exchange such Greek dominion for that of the Roman Republic, she only passed from one Shylock to another. And she exhibited no alacrity in making the transfer. The will of Attalus III of Pergamon, who died in 133 B.C., whether forged or genuine, which turned what became the province of Asia over to the Roman people, was far from an undisputed legacy. In spite of the questionable legitimacy of the claims of Aristonicus, the reputed son of Eumenes II, he succeeded in mustering a large proportion of his uncle's former subjects to his support, and maintained himself for two years as ruler of the larger part of the Pergamene kingdom.

We are interested particularly in the nature of Aristonicus' appeal to the populace as an indication of the condition of social unrest prevalent in the kingdom. Strabo informs us,[2] "He in a short time collected a multitude of poor men and slaves summoned to freedom, whom he called citizens of the city of the sun";

[1] Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* (1910), pp. 79, 282; *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 4.

[2] Book XIV, p. 646.

i.e., "Heliopolitai." Whether Aristonicus had summoned them to freedom himself, or some one had done so before him, is not recorded. In any case it is evident he won their allegiance by promises of drastic economic and social reform. The term "Heliopolitai" is especially noteworthy. Mommsen [1] naïvely supposed "the liberated slaves constituted themselves citizens of a town Heliopolis — not otherwise mentioned or perhaps having an existence merely in the imagination for the moment — which derived its name from the god of the sun so highly honored in Syria." Wilcken [2] more plausibly connects the term with a frankly socialistic program, wherein the city of the sun stands figuratively for Utopia, after the analogy of the islands bathed in sunlight described in the fantastic stories of the philosophers. This view is supported by the words "called unto freedom" in Strabo, and the fact that the converse of this phrase is found in Diodorus Siculus,[3] who speaks of the slaves as being "driven to join" Aristonicus "by the ill treatment of their masters." What makes the reference unmistakable, however, is that Blossius, the Stoic philosopher, after the death of Tiberius Gracchus in Rome fled to Aristonicus in Asia. The words of Plutarch in this connection are worth quoting: [4] "Tiberius, however, on being elected tribune of the people, took the matter [the land question] directly in hand. He was incited to this step, as most writers say, by Diophanes the rhetorician and Blossius the philosopher. . . . Well, then, Blossius [subsequent to his examination before the consuls] was acquitted and

[1] *History of Rome*, Eng. tr. (1908), III, 278.
[2] Article "Aristonicus" in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, II, 926.
[3] Book XXXIV, Chap. 2, p. 26.
[4] *Tib. Gracchus*, VIII and XX, Perrin's trans., in Loeb Classical Library.

afterwards went to Aristonicus in Asia, and when the cause of Aristonicus was lost, slew himself." It is clear then that Blossius, the thinker behind the reform programs of Tiberius Gracchus in Rome, was in sympathy with and made his contribution to the revolt of Aristonicus in Asia.

An interesting light on the counter-reforms undertaken by the authorities of Pergamon to head off the revolt of Aristonicus is found in an inscription which was unearthed in 1885 in the theater at Pergamon.[1] It is dated after the death of Attalus but before the Romans had confirmed his will, and contains a vote of the city advancing the political status of several classes of the population. Five groups are benefited: first, certain Macedonian and other soldiers resident in the city and country were granted citizenship with their wives and children; second, the freedmen; third, the royal slaves who were of age and younger; fourth, such royal female slaves as had not been bought by the last two kings or confiscated from the royal estates; and, finally, the public slaves of the city of Pergamon were all advanced to the status of "by-dwellers." That is, they were granted their liberty and accorded the rights of non-citizen residents. Slaves of private owners are not mentioned, but the numbers included in the vote must have been very large, since the Pergamene textile, dye, and other factories under the Attalids were very extensive and were largely manned by royal slaves.[2]

The resolution contains a further provision ordering that all who had already left the city or country since

[1] Cf. Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon* (1890), I, 249.

[2] Cf. Rostovtzeff, "Economic Policy of the Pergamene Kings," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Ramsay* (1923), pp. 380 f.; Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, 2nd ed. (1927), pp. 144 f.

the death of Attalus, or should do so in the future, should be declared dishonored and have their property confiscated. Through these measures the authorities in Pergamon evidently sought to allay as much as possible the social unrest, and by threatening the withdrawal of legal privileges and the confiscation of property for all fugitives, to prevent further accretions to the ranks of the insurgents.[1] This corresponds with the expressed occasion of the resolution, which is said to have been inspired by considerations for the "common safety." The crisis was evidently acute, and was social rather than political.

But Rome had no intention that Aristonicus and his slave-born "Heliopolites" should cheat her out of her fat legacy in the Pergamene kingdom. The Senate sent first a committee of investigation, then a pontifex maximus, then two consuls, one after the other, each with an army, before they finally suppressed the disturbance, captured and strangled Aristonicus, and articulated the province of Asia alongside Macedonia (which then included Achæa) into the new Eastern Empire. And Asia proved a prize worthy of the struggle! In the years to come, Egypt alone rivaled her in the splendid returns on imperialism which flowed from her accumulated treasures into the public and private coffers of the Roman people.

We are not concerned with either the political struggle at Rome over the exploitation of the new province or the modern controversy over the details of the ultimate settlement.[2] Suffice it to say, by the irony of history, the vote of the Assembly of the people at Rome,

[1] Cf. Wilcken, *op. cit.*
[2] Cf. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, pp. 147 f.

engineered by the democrat Gaius Gracchus, turned the larger part of the land of the new province over to the Roman knights for exploitation. Their organizations of tax-farmers were to exact the decuma, or one tenth of the produce, of not only the old crown lands of the Attalid kings but also the lands of the free Greek cities which the will of Attalus had exempted. To crown it all the raid of Mithradates (89–88 B.C.), in which some of the Greek cities were implicated, gave Sulla the occasion for inflicting a cash indemnity of twenty thousand talents (about twenty-four million dollars). Under the usurious rates of the Roman and other money-lenders this sum in fourteen years had increased sixfold and amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand talents (about one hundred and forty-four million dollars). Plutarch's description of conditions by this time is pitiful. Asia was "so plundered and enslaved by tax-farmers that private people were compelled to sell their sons in the flower of their youth and their daughters in their virginity, and the states publicly to sell their consecrated gifts, pictures and statues. In the end their lot was to gird themselves up as slaves to their creditors." [1] In the second Mithradatic war, Lucullus partially rectified these impossible conditions by reducing the interest rate to twelve per cent, canceling all in excess of the principal, and limiting the annual aggregate to one fourth part of the debtor's income, with a new tax on houses and slaves, so that in the space of four years all debts were paid. Such leniency, however, lost Lucullus the favor of the knights at Rome, and laid the foundation of his later recall and the transfer of his command to Pompey.

[1] *Lucullus*, 20.

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To the victorious arms and imperialistic policy of this new leader Rome owed the incorporation of the larger part of the remainder of Asia Minor and Syria into the Roman dominion. Syria and Bithynia including Pontus were annexed, Cilicia reorganized, Galatia and Cappadocia were added as stipendiary kingdoms, Judea as a stipendiary temple-state. It has been well said:[1] "After all Pompey was merely the figurehead of this expansionist movement. The real impetus came from the desire of the capitalists at Rome who employed the vote of the impulsive and megalomaniac *populus* to gain immediate profits for themselves, and to widen the field of their lucrative activities." In other words, behind the Roman will to empire lay the craving of the knights for more territories like Asia on which to fatten. Rome conferred favors on their subjects, but made them pay her price for them. And the price which Asia Minor paid was exorbitantly high.[2]

The chaos of the Civil Wars proved another excruciating period for the Eastern provinces. They were at the mercy of the various factions. Asia, for example, was forced to pay ten times her annual stipend to Brutus and Cassius, and then was later penalized by Antony an equal amount for doing so. The East had to furnish not only the theater but also the expenses of the republican armies during these wars.[3] But their sorrows proved the birth-pangs of better days, and the establishment of the Empire was not only hailed as a veritable "salvation" by the provinces, but in large

[1] Frank, *Roman Imperialism* (1914), p. 325.

[2] Cf. Jolliffe, *Phases of Corruption in Roman Administration in the Last Half-century of the Roman Republic* (1919).

[3] Cf. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, pp. 371 f.; Heitland, *The Roman Republic* (1909), III, 420 f.

measure came up to their expectation. The peace of Imperial Rome, its roads, its protection of trade and intercommunication, its orderly administration by experienced officials, its practical abandonment of the tax-farming system, its elimination of the old uncertainty from life and business, brought two hundred years of general prosperity.

But it was not a uniform prosperity; still less was it an equality. For a time at least opportunities were offered to the lower classes to rise in the social scale. Trimalchio is undoubtedly a typical ex-slave who made his fortune, and not a few freedmen rose to high positions of trust and authority. But as a whole the fact remains that Roman magnificence was built on the inadequately requited toil of her laboring masses.[1]

One might expatiate at length on the evils of slavery and then probably tell only half of the story. But its comparative importance can be easily overemphasized. Slavery was certainly "a canker" on ancient society. But it was a decreasing canker, and had its compensations.[2] More numerous and not less wretched were the free or semi-free agricultural laborers of the country and the poverty-stricken proletariat of the cities.

To speak of the latter first, since Christianity in the beginning was a city phenomenon — it is undoubtedly true that the existence of slavery kept down wages and depressed the economic level of free laborers. The temple records at Delos during the third century B.C.

[1] Cf. Heitland, *Agricola* (1921), pp. 432 f.; Abbott, *The Common People of Ancient Rome* (1911), pp. 145 f.; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 100.

[2] Cf. Ed. Meyer, "Die Sklaverei im Altertum," in *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 209 f.; Heitland, *Agricola*, p. 450; Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, p. 333.

show that unskilled workmen received from twenty to thirty cents a day.[1] In the edict of Diocletian (301 A.D.) wages of the unskilled laborer are set in addition to his "keep" at only a little over ten cents a day; and in various skilled trades from twenty to thirty-two cents. A comparison with the prices established for the necessities of life by the same edict shows these wages sufficed for only a bare subsistence.[2] To quote Professor Frank's summary:[3] "For the end of the Republic I think we may safely conclude that the wages found at Delos probably still held, and that ordinary unskilled labor might expect about one denarius per day or about 17–20 cents measured simply in gold. . . . Obviously the ancient free laborer did not rear a large family and send his children to college. Could he live at all? Certainly not as well as the urban slave, for the slave was not only kept fed and clothed up to the point of efficiency in a position to acquire a pecunium, but so too were his wife and children. Furthermore the children born in the household were apt to be trained in some skilled occupation if only with a view to more profitable service, an advantage which frequently placed them in a position in which they could profit from contact with the master."

Yet the usual protest of dissatisfied workmen to-day was denied his ancient prototype. Leaving Egypt aside, where nationalization made conditions exceptional, we have scant evidence for labor strikes in antiquity. Significantly enough what we have comes

[1] Cf. Frank, Chap. 17, "The Laborer," in *Economic History of Rome*, pp. 335 f., where further bibliography is given.

[2] C. I. L., III, pp. 1926–1953; cf. esp. Abbott, "Diocletian's Edict and the High Cost of Living," in *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, pp. 145 f.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 337 f.

almost exclusively from the province of Asia. In a study of four inscriptions apparently alluding to such strikes, W. H. Buckler[1] provisionally concludes that in the large cities of Asia Minor during the period from the second to the fifth centuries A.D. strikes occurred from time to time. Their causes and objects remain obscure, but it seems suggested by one inscription of the fifth century that building-workers went on strike for higher wages, and that the strikes were to some extent controlled by the working-men's unions. If not disorderly, they proceeded unchecked by the authorities; and punishment, if inflicted, was aimed at those who had committed breaches of the peace or tried to evade official inquiry. But if accompanied by riot, the strike was dealt with as a breach of public order and its leaders were arrested.

As a matter of fact only one of the four inscriptions discussed by Mr. Buckler indisputably refers to strikes of working-men,[2] and no general inference as to the strike activities of labor-unions can be drawn, as it is a well-known fact that gilds of laboring-men in antiquity were not organized for economic purposes. All we dare conclude, I think, is that the inscriptions bear witness to unsatisfactory labor conditions in Asia, which in one instance at least resulted in a strike of working-men. Why were strikes so rare? It is obvious the existence of slavery made the strike in general a futile method of redress in antiquity. Comparatively cheap, forced, slave labor was always at hand to break any strike, however well free labor might have organized. This

[1] "Labor Disputes in the Province of Asia," in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William M. Ramsay* (1923), pp. 27 f.

[2] Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 540.

helps to explain why the numerous ancient labor-gilds did not include the agitation for higher wages among the objects of their incorporation. Slavery was fatal not only to the slave himself but also to his free brother-laborer. It shut off economic redress from intolerable conditions, just as the centralized imperial government, supported by an increasingly barbarian army, had shut off political redress through the old democracy. Ancient working-men were at the mercy of their employers to a degree which our modern analogies hardly enable us to imagine.

Yet we know that labor unrest and social disturbance continued during the Roman period throughout the cities of Asia Minor. The orations of Dio Chrysostom of Prusa (*c.* 40 to after 112 A.D.) bear repeated testimony to the continued struggle between the factions of the rich and the poor.[1] Especially striking are the troubles in Tarsus, the city of Paul, during the Reign of Trajan.[2] The disturbing element is the so-called linen-workers, who occupy an inferior position in the community and are excluded from citizenship. In consequence they are given to riots and disorder. One wonders why workers in linen were less well regarded than weavers of goat's hair a generation earlier. However, Paul's handicraft may have been a somewhat artificial concession to the accepted custom that all Jewish boys should learn a trade. A Roman citizen by birth, Paul must have come from a family of some wealth and distinction.[3] At any rate linen-workers were in ill repute at

[1] Cf. von Arnim, *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa* (1898), p. 491; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 519 f.

[2] Cf. *Or* 34, 21–23. On the date of the second Tarsan oration, cf. von Arnim, *op. cit.*, pp. 460 f.

[3] Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 3rd ed., 1898, pp. 310 f.

Tarsus in Dio's day. He argues they are just as good as dyers, leather-cutters, and carpenters, and advises their enfranchisement. But Dio was a philanthropist, and in his *Euboikos* shows some leaning even toward utopianism.[1] His solution probably found little favor among the realistic aristocrats of Tarsus in Trajan's day. The significant thing is that proletarian labor in Asia Minor in the first centuries of our era was restive, that its economic condition justified this unrest, and that it had no opportunity for redress through either political or economic action.

In the agricultural sections of Asia Minor, in Roman times, types of land tenure were quite various.[2]

First: there was the land attached to the Greek cities. This consisted partly of the holdings of the individual citizens, cultivated by them and their slaves or tenants, and partly of land belonging to the city corporately. The latter was tilled mostly by natives who lived in their own villages and were called "by-dwellers," but were not citizens. They enjoyed an intermediate position between the citizens of the municipality and the public slaves and freedmen. The orations of Dio and several inscriptions show that they were discontented and troublesome, and prone to agitate for citizenship.[3]

Second: There were extensive imperial domains, especially in Galatia, South Phrygia, and Pisidia, belong-

[1] Cf. von Arnim, *op. cit.*, pp. 492 f.

[2] The statement here attempts to summarize, in bare outline only, the results reached by the authorities on the subject. Cf. esp. Rostovtzeff, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* (1910), pp. 240 f.; *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 236 f.; Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, pp. 141 f., 371 f., 471 f.

[3] Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 562; especially authenticated for Celænæ, the capital of Phrygia.

ing to the emperors and members of their families. They had mostly come into their possession as inheritances from the kings and former rulers of these territories. They were usually remote from the cities, and came, sometimes, to have a highly developed communal or village organization of their own. In some cases they received grants of city constitutions.[1] Ordinarily, however, their communal life centered round the worship of the emperor, their patron, with his procurator or representative officiating as high priest.

In the instance about which we are best informed, the *coloni*, who farmed these domains, were well to do, perhaps because exempted from certain compulsory services required of their fellows attached to the cities.[2] Whatever the reason, it is very striking that they should be the last element in the population to accept Christianity.[3] Their official attachment to the emperor may help to explain this, as Ramsay supposes, but it is an appropriate query whether their comfortable circumstances, growing out of this attachment, may not have had something to do with it.

In a similar class should also be placed the provincial estates of noble and wealthy private persons, usually absentee landlords, administering their land through slave or freedman stewards. Their laborers were not so favorably situated as those on the imperial domains, and they were probably not exempt from full compulsory service.

[1] *E.g.*, Pogla; cf. *Oest. Jahresh.* (1901), Beiblatt, 37 f., cited by Rostovtzeff, *Röm. Kol.*, p. 300.

[2] Cf. Ramsay, "The Tekmoreian Guest-Friends," in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1906), pp. 305 f.

[3] Cf. Ramsay, *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXII (1922), 149.

Third: Strabo tells us [1] of numerous temple estates scattered over Asia Minor, especially in Cappadocia and Pontus, which constituted more or less independent feudal states, alongside the self-governing cities. They were presided over by a high priest and contained sometimes as many as six thousand subjects, who bore the status of temple slaves. The men farmed the land for the benefit of the god (or priests); and the women, in their youth devoted to sacred prostitution, later married the temple farmers and became with them temple serfs, more or less attached to the soil. Many of these estates had been confiscated by the native rulers, especially by Amyntas,[2] and thus became imperial domains when the countries were taken over by the Romans. What alteration this accomplished in the status of the temple slaves is not clear. In some cases they seem to have become free tenants and later were accorded citizenship. In others they may have continued in a feudal or a semi-feudal condition, thus anticipating a status which became general in the fourth century.[3]

Fourth: There were colonies of veteran soldiers, such as that of Augustus at "Pisidian" Antioch, drawn from the fifth Gallic legion, reinforced by others later, and settled along the foot of the Taurus range. They were placed there for protection against the mountain tribes but evidently lost their identity gradually and were before long absorbed by the native population.[4] The

[1] Cf. Book XI, pp. 503, 512 f.; XII, pp. 535 f.; XIV, pp. 660 f.

[2] Cf. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I (1895), 102 f.; Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, p. 376.

[3] Cf. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, pp. 474, 497.

[4] Cf. Ramsay, *Journal of Roman Studies*, VI (1916), 83 f.; VIII (1918), 107 f.; XIV (1924), 172 f.; XVI (1926), 110 f.; Robinson, *Journal of Roman Studies*, XV (1925), 253 f.

land was owned by these Roman soldiers but probably tilled by native tenants.

Finally there were the wild, uncivilized, and semi-nomad tribes, like the Homanadenses, whom it was Quirinius' task to subdue,[1] of the Taurus and Anti-taurus, and of the table-lands of the interior, who lived partly as shepherds and partly as brigands, and to whom, no doubt, Paul refers as the "robbers" by whom his life has often been put in danger.[2]

In general the condition of these rural laboring classes was probably better than that of the urban proletariat. It is true they were largely tenants, serfs, or half-serfs. Only a small proportion of the actual laborers could have been citizens of either the local cities of the empire. Nevertheless the taxes in themselves were not high. The prevalent land tax of the decuma, or one tenth of the produce, was not exorbitant. Occasionally there may have been some feudal service (corvée or villeinage) required of the laborers on the land of their masters, provided the Hellenistic conditions of the fourth (or second century), attested by the Sardis inscription of Mnesimachus,[3] persisted also into Roman times. What came, however, to be a far greater burden were the liturgies, or compulsory services, demanded of individuals and cities by the state. A good example of these were the *angareiæ* (cf. Matthew 5 : 41) inherited through the Hellenistic kings from the Persian times, by which the state had the right to demand of the local population the ships, animals, drivers, vehicles, etc., necessary for the transport of

[1] Cf. Ramsay, *Journal of Roman Studies*, VII (1917), 229 f.

[2] Cf. II Corinthians 11 : 26.

[3] Cf. Buckler and Robinson, *Am. Jour. of Archæology* (1912), 1 f.; on date cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Gött, Gel. Anz.* (1914), p. 89, n. 1.

goods and troops required for imperial purposes. These compulsory services came to include the provision of buildings and supplies for the quartering of troops, the entertainment of traveling officials, etc. In unscrupulous hands they afforded endless opportunity for almost limitless extortion and irresponsible robbery. There are numerous inscriptions protesting against these abuses,[1] but the pernicious and demoralizing custom only increased with the years, and in the troublous times of the third century became a contributing cause of the general economic decay.

Another serious factor in the situation of the poor of both city and country was the periods of famine and exorbitant prices due to the monopolization of the corn for the city of Rome and the army, the uncertainty of rainfall in a dry country like Asia Minor, and the difficulties of transportation especially by land.[2] The third "horseman" of the Apocalypse was a reality to the poor people of Asia Minor at the end of the first century! A new touch of this reality for us has been added by the discovery at "Pisidian" Antioch in 1924 of an inscription bearing an edict of Lucius Antistius Rusticus, legate of Domitian, in connection with a widespread famine probably in 92 or 93 A.D.[3]

Owing to the severe winter of the previous year the grain crop had failed, and prices became excessive. The edict provides "modern" methods to prevent profiteering, requiring a declaration of all grain supplies, together with the needs for next year's sowing and

[1] *E.g.*, Ditt., *Or. Gr.*, II, 521; *Syll.* 1, 418; *Denksch. d. k. Akad. in Wien*, Vol. 57, 1, Nos. 9, 28, 55.

[2] Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 138, 188, 590.

[3] Cf. Robinson, *Trans. Am. Philological Association*, LV (1924), 5 f.

household consumption. All the remainder is made subject to an option of purchase by the grain merchants of the colony. The price limit is set at a single denarius to the *modius*, or about twice that of normal years. This is very moderate when compared with what happened when profiteering was allowed to take its uninterrupted course. The voice of Revelation 6 : 6 foretells the latter eventuality, when it proclaims "a chœnix of wheat for a denarius," or eight times the price set by the edict of Rusticus. No facile imagination is needed to picture what this price would imply for the poorer elements of the population.

Such conditions provoked the apocalyptic mood. During the first three centuries the general economic status of the laboring classes went from bad to worse. There was no permanent alleviation, and there seemed no hope of it by ordinary processes. Therefore when Christianity entered with its promise of a "new age" of righteousness inaugurated by divine power, which included "feeding the hungry with good things" and "exalting those of low degree," it could not help get a hearing. Indeed the Jewish Messianism thus transplanted to Gentile soil had taken on its characteristic apocalyptic dress, under very similar circumstances, in earlier Hebrew history. Professor Frederick C. Grant has recently shown its predominantly economic character.[1]

> The dank soil in which the Messianic hope was rooted . . . was not the lofty spiritual teaching of the Parables of Enoch . . . it was rather the crude, elemental, invincible optimism

[1] Cf. *Anglican Theological Review*, VI (1923), 196 f.; VII (1924), 281 f.; continued in *The Economic Background of the Gospels* (Oxford, 1926).

of the Palestinian farmer, undiscouraged by his poor harvests and still trusting, through generation after generation, that God would some day "open the store-chambers of blessing which are in heaven," and "renew the face of the earth." It was a political and agricultural as well as a religious dream. For it was inspired by a continual economic necessity which was felt by the nation as a whole, rather than the vision of a few isolated and academic seers. Eudæmonism is almost necessarily popular in origin." [1]

Unquestionably, as Professor Grant also maintains,[2] under the influence of the reinterpretation of Jesus this Messianic hope received a new moral and spiritual content. Nevertheless as popularly conceived it retained in large measure its original, economic characteristics, and was ever in danger of sinking again to almost purely eudæmonistic levels. We have no right to assume that the Epistles of Paul and the Gospel and Epistles of John represent the only type of gospel teaching through which Asia Minor was evangelized. There is good evidence that less spiritual and more crudely apocalyptic interpretations were also current. Irenæus of Lyons, himself a native of Asia Minor, attributes to the Elders, who saw John the disciple of the Lord in Asia, the story found in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch [3] of the fabulous vine-stocks of the Messianic age, each of which bore a thousand branches, etc. Only here the one thousand has multiplied to ten, and each of the resulting million clusters of grapes outbids the other, to the ear of the partaking saint, with the audible cry, "I am a better cluster, take me; through me bless the Lord." Each grain of wheat, in

[1] *Anglican Theological Review*, VII (1924), 199.
[2] *Op. cit.*, VII, 286 f. [3] 29 : 5; cf. I Enoch 10 : 19.

like manner, is to produce ten thousand ears, and every ear ten thousand grains, and every grain is to yield ten pounds of clear, pure, fine flour. All fruit-trees are to produce in similar proportion, and the wild beasts are to become again harmonious and completely subjected to man. These prodigies are not supposed for a moment to be figurative or poetic exaggerations, but are stated as expressly related by the Elders and by John, as literal sayings of the Lord himself.

Irenæus further affirms that the same stories are to be found in the fourth book of Papias, the hearer of John and companion of Polycarp. This Papias was the well known bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, another influential Christian of Asia Minor in the first half of the second century. According to Irenæus, Papias also ascribed these stories to Jesus, and cited as the Lord's reply to the doubts of Judas, "They who shall come to these times shall see." [1] This whole section of Irenæus reveals that his own teaching was not one whit behind that of Papias. After quoting Isaiah 40: 6 he argues that the fact that the lion shall eat straw like the ox indicates the large size and the rich quality of the fruits (of the Messianic age). "For if that animal, the lion, shall feed upon straw, of what a quality must the wheat itself be, whose straw shall serve as a suitable food for lions." [2] If this was the sort of gospel Papias preached up and down the Lycus valley, we can picture without much difficulty wherein lay the point of its appeal. Nor was Papias alone. The whole Chiliastic movement, of which he was a distinguished representative,

[1] *Against Heresies*, V, 33–36.

[2] Hippolytus also, probably in dependence on Papias, attributes the same stories to Jesus; cf. Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, 2nd ed. (1905), p. 99.

was a literalistic emphasis on Christian apocalypticism.[1] Montanism, again, was a recrudescence of the apocalyptic elements in Christianity, and Montanism was primarily a phenomenon of Asia Minor.[2]

It is also to be remembered that Paul's teaching had its more literal apocalyptic phases. Passages like II Thessalonians 2 : 1–12 reveal how far he was from having completely moralized and spiritualized the future hope. It still contained for him some very vivid and literal Jewish survivals. And the reception of the first epistle in Thessalonica shows how prone his converts were to take his word even more literally than he intended. He implies that the majority of his converts were of humble and uncultured antecedents,[3] and the uneducated, we know, are disposed in all ages to understand words literally and concretely. Probably only a small minority of the members of the Pauline churches rose to even the Apostle's level in their conceptions of the future. We recollect that at the best it was only a thin veneer of the moral and spiritual which Christianity succeeded in applying to the persistent paganism of Asia Minor, and the same must have been true of the inheritance of apocalyptic Messianism which Christianity brought over from Judaism.

Finally, it may be added, what might have been said at the outset, that the amazing rapidity and completeness of the conversion of Asia Minor to Christianity demands

[1] On the prevalence of these apocalyptic views among other Christians of Asia Minor and elsewhere, cf. Case, *The Millennial Hope* (1918), pp. 153 f.

[2] On the apocalyptic character and social attitudes of Montanism, cf. Calder, *Philadelphia and Montanism*, 1923, pp. 20 f. I am indebted to Professor David M. Robinson of Johns Hopkins University for calling this brochure of Professor Calder to my attention, and also for other valuable suggestions in connection with the archæological evidence.

[3] Cf. I Corinthians 1 : 26 f.

a more considerable explanation than ever has been suggested. Undoubtedly this conversion is the most astounding phenomenon revealed in Harnack's second volume of *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*.[1] By the beginning of the fourth century practically the whole of the peninsula, including most of the rural sections, had been Christianized. This was the case with no other province generally in the Roman Empire, though Syria and Greece were evangelized contemporaneously with Asia Minor.

Harnack rightly connects the explanation with the unique combination of Greek and Oriental elements which Asia Minor presented.[2] But he goes into no details, and he has nothing to say concerning the economic factors. It is our opinion that the profoundly religious inheritance of the Oriental native stocks was here softened, disintegrated, and rendered plastic, to an unusual degree, by the dissolving influence of centuries of Hellenic culture. The most of it was destined to reappear again under new forms in Christianity. In the process of dissolution Greek democracy as well as education had a liberating part, and with them came the Greek philosophic ideal of a perfect and universal city-state. This Greek utopianism is the counterpart to Jewish Messianism. Both originate out of the same economic needs and hopes, and come by different roads to strikingly similar conclusions.[3] The Greek form, filtering down to the people, prepared for the Jewish, but was inferior to it, for the Jewish "utopianism" was religious and con-

[1] Cf. Eng. tr., 1908, II, pp. 182 f.; esp. pp. 328 f.
[2] *Op. cit.*, II, 184.
[3] Cf. Case, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 f.

crete, and therefore appealed especially to the ignorant and exploited masses. It made its way with amazing rapidity, for it satisfied in experience and anticipation a multiplicity of their deepest and most universal needs.[1]

[1] It is significant, though lack of space forbids discussion, that Africa was the next most rapidly Christianized province (Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 274 f., 285, esp. 297 and 330), and, though differently organized economically, was characterized by similar low levels in working conditions. Africa lacked the distinctive Hellenistic factor, save as mediated by Roman institutions, but in the Punic element the Oriental religious antecedents were similarly represented.

BEMERKUNGEN ZUM ZWEITEN KLEMENSBRIEF

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Der sogenannte zweite Klemensbrief gehört zu den zahlreichen urchristlichen Schriftstücken, deren Entstehungsverhältnisse schwer aufzuklären sind, weil ihr Text selbst eindringlicher Forschung nicht genügend Handhaben oder Fingerzeige gibt. Es könnte überflüssig erscheinen, die Fragen, die so viele Federn in Bewegung gesetzt haben, noch einmal aufzugreifen, schiene nicht doch die Möglichkeit gegeben, sie zu einem gewissen Abschluss zu bringen. Allgemeine Zustimmung erwartet der Verfasser nicht, da sie der Natur der Sache nach unmöglich ist. Was er für sich in Anspruch nehmen möchte, ist nur die Anerkennung einer gesunden, vorurteilslosen Methode. Jeder unbefangene Mitarbeiter weiss, dass in methodischer Beziehung auf dem Gebiet der Erforschung des urchristlichen Schrifttums masslos gesündigt worden ist. Dieses Schrifttum ist geradezu zum Tummelplatz für Alle geworden, die mehr oder weniger geistreiche Einfälle zu Papier zu bringen nicht unterlassen konnten. Ich habe dabei in erster Linie jene Radikalen im Auge, die die urchristlichen Urkunden von vorne herein als mit dem Verdacht der Fälschung belastet betrachten, jene Männer, von denen Harnack einmal hart, aber nicht ungerecht urteilte: "Sie behandeln die Urkunden wie Papierfabrikanten die Lumpen, nehmen sie als *corpora vilia* voll Schmutz und Fälschung, stossen sie zusammen, verwandeln sie in einen dickflüssigen und zähen Brei und

verarbeiten sie dann zu Löschpapier."[1] Aber ich kann auch Harnack und noch viel konservativere Forscher als ihn von der Neigung nicht freisprechen, den Weg zu klarer Erkenntnis eines oft einfachen Tatbestandes durch willkürliche, d. h. nicht in der Sache begründete Vermutungen und Behauptungen erschwert oder gar verbaut zu haben.[2] Unter den wenigen Forschern, die sich den Blick freigehalten haben, soweit es die Natur des Gegenstandes überhaupt zulässt, wird man einen stets mit besonderer Hochschätzung zu nennen haben: John Barber Lightfoot, dessen grosse Ausgabe der apostolischen Väter wirklich ein *monumentum ære perennius* darstellt. Auch für die Aufhellung der Entstehungsverhältnisse des zweiten Klemensbriefes verdankt man ihm die entscheidenden Anregungen.

Ich gehe bei den nachstehenden Bemerkungen von einigen Beobachtungen aus, die mir sicher zu sein scheinen, obwohl sie nicht allgemein anerkannt sind, und wende mich dann hypothetischen Erwägungen zu, die geeignet sein können, immer noch bleibende Schwierigkeiten wenigstens etwas zu erleichtern.

§ 1

Als feststehend betrachte ich, dass der sogenannte 2. Klemensbrief (im Folgenden K) eine *Homilie*, nicht

[1] Vgl. Harnacks Besprechung des Buches: *Antiqua Mater: A study of Christian origins*. London 1887, in der *Theol. Literaturzeitung* 11 (1887), c. 378.

[2] Meine eigene Auffassung habe ich in meiner Rektoratsrede über *Kritik und Überlieferung auf dem Gebiete der Erforschung des Urchristentums* (Giessen 1903) niedergelegt. Damals schrieb ich (p. 19): "Du sollst Deine Auffassung von der Geschichte nicht zur Richterin über die Urkunden machen." Ich kann nicht finden, dass diese Mahnung gegenstandslos geworden ist.

aber eine Epistel ist. Van den Bergh van Eysinga hat das ganz neuerdings [1] noch wieder bestritten, allerdings ohne Angabe eines Grundes, während er doch selbst auf die Stellen hinweist, die nach dem *consensus omnium* den Predigtcharakter erweisen.[2] Dass diese Predigt infolge ihrer Verbindung mit dem ersten Klemensbrief in der Überlieferung als Epistel erscheint, ist keine Gegeninstanz, übrigens auch als solche, soviel mir bekannt, von der Forschung niemals geltend gemacht worden. Diese Predigt trägt — auch das sehe ich als feststehend an — durchaus *einheitlichen Charakter.* Völter [3] hat das geleugnet, aber er steht völlig allein und hat nach meiner Meinung mit seinem Versuch, die Homilie zu zerstückeln, nur einen neuen Beitrag zu der Löschpapierfabrikation geliefert, von der Harnack gesprochen hatte. Nach ihm war K in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt, ebenso wie der erste Klemensbrief und der Hirte des Hermas, aber auch der erste Petrus- und der Jakobusbrief, ein Dokument der universalistisch erweiterten Religion von Proselyten, die sich vom Judentum losgesagt und ein Christentum ohne die im engeren Sinne christliche Heilslehre angenommen haben. Erst ein Späterer hat die Predigt "in spezifisch christlichem Sinne" überarbeitet. Wie man das feststellt? Sehr einfach. Man schneidet aus dem jetzigen Textbestand alle die Stücke und Stückchen heraus, die "spezifisch christlichen" Charakter tragen,

[1] G.-A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, *La littérature chrétienne primitive* (Paris, 1926), p. 184. Auch Th. Wehofer, *Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Epistolographie* (Wien, 1901), p. 102 sqq. vertrat diesen Standpunkt.

[2] Es handelt sich um K 17, 3 und 19, 1 in Verbindung mit 15, 2.

[3] Daniel Völter, *Die älteste Predigt aus Rom: Der sogenannte zweite Klemensbrief* [*Die Apostolischen Väter, neu untersucht,* Teil 2, Heft 1.] (Leiden 1908.)

und erhält so ein Schriftstück, an dem freilich ein universalistisch gerichteter Proselyt seine Erbauung finden mochte. Man könnte an der Naivität eines solchen Verfahrens, dem z. B. die Nennung des Namens Jesu oder Christi durch Streichung oder Ersetzung durch *θεός* und *πατήρ* zum Opfer fällt, seine Freude haben, täte einem das Papier nicht leid, das dabei zum Druck verschwendet wurde.

Für jeden, der sehen will, liegt der einheitliche Sprachcharakter des ganzen Schriftstückes zutage. Wer nicht imstande ist, diesen Eindruck schon bei der Lektüre zu empfangen, mag sich an Hand von Goodspeeds Konkordanz [1] den lexikalischen Tatbestand im einzelnen vergegenwärtigen. Der sprachlichen Einheitlichkeit aber tritt die inhaltliche Geschlossenheit zun Seite. Deshalb waren die Versuche von Di Pauli [2] und Schüssler,[3] die beiden letzten Kapitel (19 u. 20) von dem Korpus abzusprengen und einem Späteren zuzuweisen, von vorne herein zur Erfolglosigkeit verdammt. Ich verkenne die Schwierigkeit nicht, die die beiden Gelehrten zu ihrer Hypothese veranlasst hat. Sie liegt in dem Verständnis der Worte, mit denen der Prediger den Schluss seines Vortrages einleitet: *ὥστε, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἀδελφαί, μετὰ τὸν θεὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναγινώσκω ὑμῖν ἔντευξιν εἰς τὸ προσέχειν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, ἵνα καὶ ἑαυτοὺς σώσητε καὶ τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα ἐν ὑμῖν* (19, 1). Aber diese Worte, mag

[1] Edgar J. Goodspeed, *Index Patristicus sive clavis patrum apostolicorum operum* (Leipzig, 1907). Dieses treffliche Hilfsmittel ist noch lange nicht ausgenutzt.

[2] Andreas Freiherr Di Pauli, "Zum sog. 2. Korintherbrief des Clemens Romanus," *Zeitschrift f.d. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 4 (1903), pp. 321–329.

[3] Walther Schüssler, "Ist der zweite Klemensbrief ein einheitliches Ganze?", *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*, 28 (1907), pp. 1–13.

ihre Deutung im einzelnen für den modernen Leser schwierig sein, können doch nur besagen wollen, dass der Prediger seine Hörer noch einmal ermahnen will, sie möchten sich, nachdem sie das Wort Gottes vernommen haben, um ihres und seines Seelenheils willen auch wirklich an die Vorschriften dieses Gotteswortes halten. Ob es sich dabei um einen Schrifttext handelt, dessen Verlesung der Predigt vorangegangen war, oder um die in die Predigt verwobenen Schriftworte, vielleicht einschliesslich der damit vertundenen Paränese, das können wir freilich nicht mehr feststellen. Es ist deshalb auch verlorene Liebesmüh, nach der "Anagnose zum zweiten Klemensbriefe" [1] zu suchen. Keinenfalls aber darf unsere lückenhafte Kenntnis dazu verleiten, mit Schüssler in der mit dem 18. Kapitel abgeschlossenen Predigt die Schrift (*τὰ γεγραμμένα*) zu sehen, aus der der *θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας* gesprochen habe, und der nur ein Späterer bei der Verlesung jene Mahnung anfügte. Und es heisst die Dinge auf den Kopf stellen, wenn Schüssler (p. 6 Anm. 1) schreibt: "Den lexikalischen und inhaltlichen Konsensus zwischen Kap. 1–18 einerseits, Kap. 19 f. anderseits darf man nicht gegen unsere Auffassung geltend machen."

§ 2

Meine zweite Feststellung bezieht sich auf den *Abfassungsort*. Als solcher kann, wie schon Lightfoot sah und mit für seine Zeit weittragenden Belegen zu stützen wusste, nur Korinth in Frage kommen. Entscheidend sind dafür die Ausführungen des 7. Kapitels. Sie scheinen zu beweisen, dass der Verfasser mit den

[1] So Rudolf Knopf in der *Zeitschr. f. neutestam. Wissenschaft*, 3 (1902), pp. 266–279.

korinthischen Verhältnissen vertraut ist und zu damit Vertrauten spricht, also als Korinther zu Korinthern. Ich habe mich, da ich dem eigenen Eindruck angesichts so vieler widersprechender Urteile neuerer Forscher nicht zu trauen wagte, an meinen sachverständigen Kollegen, den Professor der klassischen Philologie Dr. Rudolf Herzog in Giessen, gewendet, der mir schreibt: "Der Verfasser hat im 6. Kapitel die beliebte Antithese von den φθαρτά und ἄφθαρτα gebraucht. Die hat ihm 1. Kor. 9, 24–27 in die Erinnerung gerufen, wo Paulus zu den Korinthern mit deutlicher Bezugnahme auf die Agone der Isthmier, die für das Leben der Stadt von grösster Bedeutung waren, in Vergleichen aus diesen Agonen redet. Das tut nun der Prediger im 7. Kapitel noch ausführlicher und mit so technischen Ausdrücken, dass die Sache ihm und seinen Hörern ganz geläufig gewesen sein muss. Insbesondere kann man εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καταπλέουσιν πολλοί nur von den Isthmien sagen, denn καταπλεῖν gibt das Ziel der Reise an. Die Antithese φθαρτός — ἄφθαρτος regt den Verfasser sodann zu einem Wortspiel mit dem technischen Ausdruck φθείρειν τὸν ἀγῶνα an, der alle betrügerischen Vergehen gegen die Spielregeln, namentlich solche auf Grund von Bestechungen, Verkauf des Siegs, umfasst. Auch die Strafen dafür gibt er richtig an." [1]

[1] Zu den Belegen bei Lightfoot kann hinzugefügt werden Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Græcarum*, 3. Aufl., III. Nr. 1076: Geldstrafen von 1000 Stateren διὰ τὸ φθείρειν τὸν ἀγωνα an den Asklepieen von Epidauros um 200 v. Chr., Pausanias, *Periegesis* 5, 21 von den Strafen bei den olympischen Spielen, Philostratos, *Gymnastikos* 45 mit dem Kommentar von Jüttner p. 277 sq., besonders [Dionysios Halikarn.] *ars rhetorica* 7, 6, wo in einem προτρεπτικὸς ἀθληταῖς vor den Bestechungen gewarnt wird mit der Aufzählung der Strafen: τίνα τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις; μάστιγες, ὕβρεις, αἰκίαι σωμάτων, ἃ δούλων καὶ οὐκ ἐλευθέρων· τὸ παρὰ τοῖς θεαταῖς βλασφημεῖσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι κροτεῖσθαι στεφανοῦσθαι· ἐνίοτε δὲ ζημία καὶ τὸ ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν σταδίων καὶ ἀγώνων. Von der Bedeutung

Diese Feststellung hat grundlegende Bedeutung. Sie gilt besonders gegenüber der wiederholt und mit steigender Bestimmtheit von Harnack [1] vorgetragenen Auffassung, wonach der Ursprungsort unserer Homilie in Rom zu suchen sei. Harnack sieht in ihr das von dem römischen Bischof Soter (165/7–173/5) verfasste und von ihm nach Korinth gesandte Schriftstück, das von der dortigen Gemeinde, wie ihr Bischof Dionysius verspricht, in gleich hohen Ehren gehalten werden sollte, wie der vor Zeiten von Rom nach Korinth gerichtete Brief des Klemens.[2] Kein Zweifel, dass sich die Worte des Dionysius auf K beziehen lassen würden, sobald der Beweis geführt werden oder es mit einleuchtenden Gründen wenigstens zu hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit erhoben werden könnte, dass der Aufassungsort in Rom zu suchen ist, obwohl selbst dann bestehen bliebe, dass Dionysius von einer ἐπιστολή, nicht von einer ὁμιλία redet. Auch mag es den Anschein haben, dass sich gewisse überlieferungsgeschichtliche Schwierigkeiten, vor allem die Verbindung von K mit dem Klemensbrief und die Gleichsetzung der Verfasser, leichter lösen würden, wenn wir in K ein römisches Erzeugnis sehen dürften. Aber diese Schwierigkeiten

der Isthmien, die hier allein in Frage stehen, in der Kaiserzeit geben einen guten Begriff die Reden des Dion Chrysostomos IX, Favorinus (= Dio XXXVII), Aristides von Smyrna Isthmikos und das unter Kaiser Julians Briefe verschlagene Dokument, *Juliani Epp.* nr. 198 p. 267 sqq. ed. Bidez und Cumont. [R. Herzog.]

[1] Harnack hat sich wiederholt über K geäussert: (1) *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*, 1 (1877) p. 264–283, 329–364; (2) *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, 2. Teil. *Die Chronologie*, 1 (1897) p. 438–450; (3) *Zeitschrift f. d. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 6 (1905) p. 67–71, Vgl. auch *Philotesia für Paul Kleinert* (Berlin, 1907), p. 11.

[2] Vgl. den Auszug aus dem Brief des Dionysius bei Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4, 23, 11: τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνέγνωμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἣν ἔξομεν ἀεί ποτε ἀναγινώσκοντες νουθετεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν.

bestehen eben nur scheinbar,[1] und jener Beweis kann nicht geführt werden. Um seine Hypothese zu retten, scheut Harnack freilich auch ein Gewaltmittel nicht. In seiner letzten Ausserung zur Sache (1905, p. 71) macht er das Zugeständnis: "Cap. 7 unserer Predigt legt die Vermutung nahe, dass es für die korinthische Gemeinde geschrieben ist." Aber er nimmt dieser richtigen Erkenntnis die Stosskraft, indem er erklärt, Soter habe, als er eine Abschrift seiner Predigt für die korinthische Gemeinde veranstaltete, das Kapitel eingefügt. Dabei übersieht er, von allem anderen abgesehen, dass Kap. 7 mit Kap. 6 so eng verklammert

[1] Auch Dr. Herzog vermag sie nicht zu sehen. Er schreibt mir: "Im Archiv der Gemeinde zu Korinth wurde neben der Rolle des echten Klemensbriefes die Rolle mit der Predigt ohne Titel und Subscriptio aufbewahrt. Die stichometrische Angabe am Schluss im Codex H beweist, dass die Predigt für sich auf einer Rolle gestanden hat, das Fehlen einer weiteren Subscriptio im Codex aber, dass sie keinen Autortitel hatte. Als nun beide Schriften zusammen in einen Sammelcodex eingeschrieben wurden, kam es ganz natürlich dazu, dass die Predigt, die ohne Titel und Autornamen war, als zweiter Klemensbrief betitelt wurde. Es ist bekannt, dass das schon früh geschehen sein muss. Wenn in dem Sammelcodex die Subscriptio des echten (I.) Klemensbriefes Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Κορινθίους aus der Rolle übernommen und der Titel dann auch noch an den Anfang des Briefs gesetzt wurde, so konnte in der weiteren Tradition wie oft (z. B. in der Fuge zwischen Ignatius *ad Smyrn.* und *ad Polyc.* S. 110 der Bihlmeyerschen Ausgabe) die subscriptio fälschlich als Titel des im Codex folgenden Stücks, also unserer Homilie, aufgefasst werden. Das musste dann die Numerierung ἐπιστολὴ $\bar{\alpha}$ und $\bar{\beta}$ nach sich ziehen. In den Rollen war nur die Subscriptio offiziell, der Titel vor dem Text eine Angabe meist des Benutzers. Die stichometrische Angabe ist wohl zu lesen: στίχοι $\bar{\chi}$, ῥή⟨μα⟩τα⟨ᵃ⟩κε = 1025. Da στίχοι und ῥήματα (= κῶλα[2]) meist an Zahl einander nahestehen, so bedeutet $\bar{\chi}$ hier eher nach dem älteren, aber auch noch für Werke des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. gelegentlich angewandten stichometrischen Zahlensystem 1000 als nach dem jüngeren 600. Sicher ist, dass die Angabe nur für die zweite Rolle, die Homilie, gelten kann. Bis 1000 ergäbe sich für den Unfang der Homilierolle (etwa 16000 Buchstaben) eine Kurzzeile von 16 Buchstaben, bei 600 eine mittlere von 26–27 Buchstaben, beide für Prosatexte in Rollen genbräuchlich, aber nicht die Normalzeile von 35–36 Buchstaben (vgl. zu diesen Fragen V. Gardthausen, *Griech. Paläographie*, 2. Aufl. [1913], 2. Bd. s. 70 ff.)."

ist, dass eines ohne das andere nicht leben kann. Gegenüber solcher Beweisführung versagen freilich Gründe, und es bleibt nur übrig, Harnack die Worte entgegenzuhalten, die er selbst wenige Seiten zuvor einem Gegner zuruft: *credat Judæus Apella!* Ich wiederhole: die Ausführungen des 7. Kapitels sind für die Abfassung in Korinth entscheidend. Alle anderen Erwägungen haben, wenn dieser Satz richtig ist, zurückzutreten, bedürfen also keiner eingehenden Erörterung.

Auch Bartlets[1] Versuch, K nach Alexandrien zu verweisen, scheitert an dem urkundlichen Befund, und sich mit ihm näher auseinanderzusetzen erscheint daher überflüssig. Aus dem gleichen Grunde erübrigt sich eine Auseinandersetzung mit Harris,[2] der in dem ägyptischen Enkratiten Julius Cassianus den Verfasser entdeckt zu haben glaubte.

§ 3

Auf unsicheren Boden geraten wir, wenn wir uns der Frage nach der *Abfassungszeit* zuwenden. Fest steht hier lediglich, dass K aus nachapostolischer, d. h. nicht mehr aus apostolischer und noch aus vorkatholischer Zeit stammt. Für jenen Terminus entscheidet die Benutzung des Schrifttums der Evangelien und gewisser apostolischer Episteln, für dieses die Benutzung apokrypher Literatur als religiös massgebender Instanz und die Abwesenheit aller im engeren Sinn katholischer Merkmale. In der Annahme der Benutzung kano-

[1] Vernon Bartlet, "The origin and date of 2. Clement," *Zeitschr. f. d. neutestamentl. Wiss.*, 7 (1906), pp. 123–135.

[2] Rendel Harris, "The authorship of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement," *Ebenda*, 23 (1924), pp. 193–200. Dazu Hans Windisch, "Julius Cassianus und die Clemenshomilie," *Ebenda*, 25 (1926), pp. 258–262.

nischen oder ausserkanonischen Schrifttums kann man allerdings nicht vorsichtig genug sein. Besonders die Herausgeber sind darin oft sehr unkritisch verfahren, und in unseren Ausgaben findet sich mancher Beleg unter dem Text, der bei näherem Zusehen gestrichen werden muss.[1] Wörtliche Anführungen sind selten, und eine bestimmte Einführungsformel wird nur bei Zitaten aus dem Evangelium (*λέγει ὁ κύριος* oder *ὁ θεός*, einmal [2, 4] auch *γραφή*) angewendet. Dabei bleibt unklar, welcher oder welche Evangelientexte dem Prediger im Sinn lagen. In den meisten, aber nicht in allen Fällen kommt man mit der Bezugnahme auf Matthäus und Lukas aus. In einem Falle (12, 2: *ὅταν ἔσται τὸ δύο ἕν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ*) deckt sich ein solches Zitat fast wörtlich mit dem Satze, den der Enkratit Kassian (nach Klemens von Alexandrien *Strom.* 3, 13, 92) aus dem Ägypterevangelium entnommen hat, und die Mutmassung ist nicht ganz von der Hand zu weisen, dass auch andere, in den kanonischen Evangelien nicht oder nicht in dieser Gestalt nachweisbare Aussprüche (4, 5 . 5, 3 . 4 . 13, 2) dieser Quelle entstammen mögen. Dann müsste also dem korinthischen Prediger und seinen Hörern ein bisher ausserhalb Ägyptens nicht nachgewiesener Evangelientext geläufig gewesen sein. Das mag man befremdlich finden und kann darüber nachgrübeln; an der Tatsache ändert es nichts. Wir wissen vom Umlauf der Evangelien in den

[1] Auch in der neuesten, zur Zeit wohl empfehlenswertesten Ausgabe der Apostolischen Väter von Karl Bihlmeyer (*Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften*, hrsg. v. G. Krüger. 2. Reihe. 1. Heft [Tübingen, 1924]) ist in dieser Beziehung noch des Guten zu viel getan. Ein Muster kritischer Abwägung der Möglichkeiten bietet: *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* by a Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology (Oxford, 1905).

Gemeinden der Frühzeit viel zu wenig, als dass wir uns daran stossen dürften. Jedenfalls ist die Bekanntschaft der korinthischen Gemeinde mit einem in Agypten gebräuchlichen Text nicht so auffallend, als sie es in Rom sein würde. Bedeutsam bleibt, dass K in dem enkratitischen Text ein anderen Aussprüchen des Herrn gleichwertiges Gotteswort sieht und es nach derselben Methode exegesiert, wie er es an anderen Stellen (2, 1 ff. 14, 2) mit Worten aus Jesaias oder der Genesis tut.

Ausdrückliche Zitate aus den apostolischen Episteln finden sich nicht. Dass dem Prediger die paulinischen Korintherbriefe bekannt gewesen sind, ist ohne weiteres anzunehmen und mag durch die Verwandtschaft der Ausführungen in Kap. 7 mit 1. Kor. 9, 24–27 bestätigt werden, und der Wortlaut von 11, 7: *τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἃς οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη* in Verbindung mit 14, 5: *ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ κύριος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ* spricht eher für die Erinnerung an 1. Kor. 2, 9 als an Jes. 64, 4 und 65, 16. Dagegen kann Kenntnis des Römerbriefes aus 1, 8 (vgl. Röm. 4, 17), 8, 2 (9, 21), 17, 3 (12, 16) und 19, 2 (1, 21) nicht abgeleitet werden. Ob die Worte 14, 2: *ἐκκλησία ζῶσα σῶμα ἐστιν Χριστοῦ* Epheser 1, 22. 23 machgebildet sind, muss offen bleiben. So verführerisch die Annahme ist, so kann doch hier wie bei der dem ganzen Kapitel zugrundeliegenden Exegese Gleichheit der Vorstellungen ohne literarische Abhängigkeit vorliegen.[1] Für die Bekanntschaft mit dem Hebräerbrief mag man einige, übrigens ziemlich unbedeutende Berührungen (11, 6 vgl. mit H. 10, 23; 1, 6, mit 2, 1; 16, 4 mit 13, 18) anführen. Für die Kenntnis der Pastoralbriefe reichen die farblosen

[1] Vgl. die Bemerkungen in *The New Testament*, etc., pp. 126 f.

Anklänge nicht aus. Besser könnte es mit dem ersten Petrusbrief (14, 2 vgl. mit P. 1, 20; 16, 4 mit 4, 8) und dem Jakobusbrief (6, 3.5 vgl. mit J. 4, 4; 15, 1 mit 5, 16; 16, 4 mit 5, 20) stehen, doch dürfen gerade hier die gemeinsamen Berührungen mit Wortschatz und Anschauungen der in den Weisheitssprüchen niedergelegten Sittenlehre (vgl. Prov. 10, 2.12. 11, 16 und Tobit 12, 8.9) nicht übersehen werden. Aus apokalyptischen Stellen wie 16, 3 und 20, 4 Abhängigkeit von 2. Petrus oder Judas abzuleiten, ist abwegig; das Material, das hier wie auch bei dem Zitat in 11, 2 zugrundeliegt, ist uns viel zu wenig bekannt, als dass aus solchen Stellen literarkritische Schlüsse gezogen werden könnten. Damit dürfte die Liste der Berührungen mit dem kanonischen oder ihm der Art nach verwandten Schrifttum erschöpft sein.[1] Sie sind so allgemeiner und unbestimmter Natur, dass sie für die Aufhellung weder der Entstehungsverhältnisse unseres Schriftstückes noch seiner Eigenart Erhebliches austragen können.

Vielleicht führt uns eine Umschau über das nachapostolische Schrifttum im zweiten Jahrhundert weiter. Unverkennbar ist hier zunächst der Niederschlag frühapologetischer Gedankengänge in den ersten Kapiteln. Jedem Leser drängt sich die Verwandtschaft zwischen einem Satz wie (1, 6): *πηροὶ ὄντες τῇ διανοίᾳ, προσκυνοῦντες λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκόν, ἔργα ἀνθρώπων* oder der Bezeichnung der Juden (2, 3) als *οἱ δοκοῦντες ἔχειν τὸν θεόν* mit den entsprechenden Wendungen im

[1] Woher K das als *προφητικὸς λόγος* eingeführte Zitat 11, 2 ff. genommen hat, weiss man nicht. Vom 1. Klemensbrief, wo es auch angeführt wird (23, 3 f.), ist er unabhängig, wie schon daraus hervorgeht, dass er einen bei 1. Klem. nicht zitierten Satz hinzufügt.

Kerygma Petri [1] auf. Auch die Exegese von Jes. 54, 1 (2, 1 ff.) folgt apologetischem Gedankengang, wie die Verarbeitung desselben Themas in Justins Apologie (1, 53, 5 f.) bezeugt. Die Möglichkeit, dass K das Kerygma gelesen hat, will ich nicht in Abrede stellen; man mag sich dabei auch daran erinnern, dass unfern von Korinth der Athenienser Aristides dem Kaiser Hadrian (oder war es Antoninus Pius?) seine Apologie überreichte. Bekanntschaft mit Justins Apologie anzunehmen, scheint mir unbegründet. Harnack (1905, p. 70) hat es im Interesse seiner Hypothese des römischen Ursprungs von K behauptet, Bartlet (p. 124) den Spiess umgedreht und Justin zum Benutzer von K gestempelt, was freilich seine Alexandrinerhypothese stärker belastet, als er es zu empfinden scheint. In Wirklichkeit besteht nicht der geringste Anlass, auf Grund eines apologetischen Topos literarische Beziehungen zwischen den beiden, einander sonst gänzlich fremden Schriftstücken anzunehmen.

Viel ernster sind die Berührungen mit dem Hirten des Hermas zu nehmen. Aber gerade sie geben uns ein Problem auf, dem man nur auf indirektem Wege näher kommen kann. Es ist hier der Ort, auf bisher wenig oder gar nicht beachtete Beziehungen von K zu zwei im Orient entstandenen Schriftwerken einzugehen, in denen das nicht mehr apostolische, aber noch vorkatholische Christentum einen eigenartigen Ausdruck gefunden hat: die sogenannte *Epistola Apostolorum* und die *Acta Pauli*, insbesondere der Teil dieser Akten, den wir als *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* zu bezeichnen gewohnt sind. Unter der *Epistola Apostolorum* ist

[1] Vgl. die Zusammenstellung der Bruchstücke bei E. Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, 2. Aufl. (Giessen, 1905), p. 88 sqq.

jenes Apokryphum zu verstehen, in dem ein Ungenannter Gespräche des Auferstandenen mit seinen Jüngern in die Form eines apostolischen Sendschreibens gekleidet hat. Die Entstehungsverhältnisse dieses Legendenwerkes sind noch ungeklärt: es kann in Kleinasien, es kann aber auch in Ägypten geschrieben worden sein, wahrscheinlich um 170, vielleicht früher. Thema ist die Verteidigung der urchristlichen Soteriologie und Eschatologie gegenüber dem Doketismus; im Vordergrund steht die Hoffnung auf die Wiederkunft Christi und die Auferstehung des Fleisches. Auf die sachlichen Berührungen der Schrift mit K hat zuerst Hennecke [1] hingewiesen. Er meint K 9, 5: *εἰ χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ὁ σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὢν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σὰρξ καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεσεν · οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ σαρκὶ ἀπολημψόμεθα τὸν μισθόν* geradezu als Leitsatz des Sendschreibens hinstellen zu können. Daraus scheint mir eine etwas zu lebhafte Entdeckerfreudigkeit zusprechen. Aber richtig ist: Prediger und Legendenschmied atmen die gleiche geistige Luft, der eine würde in dem anderen ohne weiteres den Gesinnungsgenossen erkannt haben.

Noch mehr gilt das von K und dem Verfasser der Paulusakten. Von diesem wissen wir durch Tertullian (*bapt.* 17), dass er ein kleinasiatischer Presbyter war, der seines Amtes enthoben wurde, weil man seine Schrift als missliebig empfand. Das muss einige Zeit vor 197, dem Datum der Schrift Tertullians, geschehen sein. Da andrerseits der Verfasser Kenntnis von der Erzählung vom Martertode Polykarps (gest. 156) hat, wird man nicht stark in die Irre gehen, wenn man ihn um 170 schreiben lässt. Benutzung der Akten durch K ist

[1] *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 2. Aufl. (Tübingen, 1924), p. 149.

jedenfalls ausgeschlossen, der umgekehrte Fall aber höchst unwahrscheinlich. Somit geben die nicht wegzuleugnenden sachlichen Beziehungen, auf die Rolffs [1] mit Recht nachdrücklich hingewiesen hat, ein Problem auf, bei dem zu verweilen die Mühe lohnt. In den Teil der Akten, der von der Thekla handelt, ist eine kurze Predigt des Apostels (5–7, p. 216, 17–217, 12) aufgenommen, die als *λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως* (p. 216, 16) bezeichnet wird.[2] Sie besteht aus 13 Makarismen, die nach Art der uns aus der Bergpredigt vertrauten lose aneinander gereiht sind. Einige dieser Sprüche decken sich mit den kanonischen ganz (Nr. 1 mit Mt. 5, 8; 12 a. b. mit 5, 7) oder in der Schlussfolgerung (Nr. 7 b mit Mt. 5, 4 b; 8 b mit 5, 9 b; 5 b mit 5 b, doch heisst es hier: *κληρονομήσουσιν τὸν θεόν* statt *τὴν γῆν*); einer (Nr. 5 a: *μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες*) ist in Anlehnung an 1. Kor. 7, 29 gebildet, ein anderer (Nr. 11: *μακάριοι οἱ δι' ἀγάπην θεοῦ ἐξελθόντες τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ κοσμικοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγγέλους κρινοῦσιν καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ σταθήσονται*) nach 1. Kor. 7, 31 und 6, 3, verbunden mit einer geläufigen Vorstellung. Die übrigen, in kanonischer Überlieferung nicht nachweisbaren Sprüche lauten:

(2) *μακάριοι οἱ ἁγνὴν τὴν σάρκα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ναὸς θεοῦ γενήσονται*

(3) *μακάριοι οἱ ἐγκρατεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοῖς λαλήσει ὁ θεός*

(4) *μακάριοι οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ εὐαρεστήσουσιν τῷ θεῷ*

(6) *μακάριοι οἱ φόβον ἔχοντες θεοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ γενήσονται*

[1] Bei Hennecke, *l. c.*, pp. 197 f.

[2] Ich zitiere nach der Ausgabe von Oskar von Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 215 ff.

(7 a) *μακάριοι οἱ τρέμοντες τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ . . .* (siehe oben)

(8 a) *μακάριοι οἱ σοφίαν λαβόντες Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (s. o.)

(9) *μακάριοι οἱ τὸ βάπτισμα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀναπαύσονται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν*

(10) *μακάριοι οἱ σύνεσιν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ χωρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐν φωτὶ γενήσονται*

(12 c) (s. o. 12 a. b.) *. . . καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται ἡμέραν κρίσεως πικράν*

(13) *μακάρια τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων, ὅτι αὐτὰ εὐαριστήσουσιν τῷ θεῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέσουσιν τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἁγνείας αὐτῶν· ὅτι ὁ λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργον αὐτοῖς γενήσεται τῆς σωτηρίας εἰς ἡμέραν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν ἕξουσιν εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος.*

Wer diese Sprüche unbefangen auf sich wirken lässt und sich dabei K in seiner Gesamthaltung und in vielen Einzelheiten gegenwärtig hält, der kann kaum anders als zu dem Schluss kommen, dass ihm hier die gleiche Grundstimmung entgegentritt. Was die Gesamthaltung angeht, so darf man sagen, dass K tatsächlich ein *λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως* ist, oder auch ein *λόγος περὶ ἁγνείας*, wie es von der Predigtweise des Apostels an anderer Stelle (7, p. 217, 17) heisst. Weiter aber ist K von Anklängen an das Fachwerk der Makarismen förmlich durchzogen, gelegentlich bis zu auffallendem Gleichlaut. Auf dem *τηρεῖν τὴν σάρκα* (Nr. 1)[1] ist ein Teil der Paränese im 14. Kapitel aufgebaut, wozu weiter zu vergleichen sind 8, 4: *τὴν σάρκα ἁγνὴν τηρήσαντες*, und 8, 6: *τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἁγνήν*, in Verbindung mit 9, 3: *δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ φυλάττειν τὴν σάρκα.* Zu Nr. 9 ist 6, 9:

[1] Vgl. auch 12, p. 219, 6: *ἐὰν μὴ ἁγνοὶ μείνητε καὶ τὴν σάρκα μὴ μολύνητε, ἀλλὰ τηρήσατε ἁγνήν.*

ἐὰν μὴ τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἁγνὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον (vgl. auch 8, 6: τὴν σφραγῖδα ἄσπιλον) heranzuziehen, zu Nr. 11 5, 1: μὴ φοβηθῶμεν ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, zu Nr. 4 6, 5: ἀποταξαμένους ἐκείνῳ (wobei allerdings nicht κόσμῳ, sondern das gleichwertige αἰῶνι τούτῳ zu ergänzen ist). Dass auch von den λόγια θεοῦ (13, 3 vgl. Nr. 7 a), von den ἐγκρατεῖς (4, 3 vgl. Nr. 3) und der ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως (16, 3 vgl. Nr. 12 c) die Rede ist, dass der φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ (Nr. 6) in dem φοβεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν (4, 4) nachklingt, und dass dem Prediger das ἀπολέσουσιν τὸν μισθόν (Nr. 13) wenigstens in seiner positiven Fassung (9, 5: ἀπολῃψόμεθα τὸν μισθόν), wie auch die ἀνάπαυσις (Nr. 13, vgl. 5, 5. 6, 7) nicht fremd sind, erwähne ich nur zusatzweise, weil diese Berührungen nur in Verbindung mit den erstgenannten Bedeutung gewinnen können. Endlich aber möchte ich darauf hinweisen, dass K einen weiteren Makarismus gebildet hat: μακάριοι οἱ τούτοις ὑπακούοντες τοῖς προστάγμασιν (19, 3), was wenigstens als Zeichen gelten mag, dass ihm derartige Bildungen geläufig gewesen sein mögen.

Im Lichte dieser Darlegungen scheinen nun auch die oft betonten Berührungen zwischen K und dem Hirten des Hermas ein etwas anderes Aussehen zu erhalten. Es lässt sich nicht leugnen, dass, wenn man diese Berührungen einander gegenüberstellt, sie auf literarische Beziehungen schliessen lassen möchten. Aber es sollte doch nicht übersehen werden, dass sie sich ganz und gar innerhalb des Gebietes bewegen, das durch jene Makarismen umschrieben wird. Stellen wie Herm. Sim. 5, 7, 1: τὴν σάρκα σου ταύτην φύλασσε (vgl. K 9, 3) καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον (K 9, 6 vom βάπτισμα) oder Sim. 8, 6, 3: εἰληφότες τὴν σφραγῖδα (nämlich τὸ βάπτισμα; K 7, 6:

τηρησάντω τὴν σφραγῖδα) . . . καὶ μὴ τηρήσαντες ὑγιῆ, vor allem Sim. 5, 6, 7: ἵνα καὶ ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη . . . μὴ δόξῃ τὸν μισθὸν τῆς δουλείας αὐτῆς ἀπολωλεκέναι (Nr. 12) · πᾶσα γὰρ σὰρξ ἀπολήψεται μισθὸν (K 9, 5) ἡ εὑρεθεῖσα ἀμίαντος καὶ ἄσπιλος (K 8, 6 von der σφραγίς) sind doch wohl, trotz verführerischer Einzelheiten, nicht aus der Bekanntschaft von K mit Hermas oder Hermas mit K, sondern eben von der gemeinsamen Grundlage her zu verstehen. Aber es ist ohne weiteres zuzugeben, dass diese Grundlage — ich meine die Makarismen oder irgend eine mit ihnen verwandte Bildung — vorläufig nichts ist als ein erratischer Block. Übrigens findet sich auch bei Hermas ein, nach Ps. 105, 3 (14, 2) gebildeter, Makarismus: μακάριοι πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν δικαιοσύνην (Vis. 2, 3, 3).

§ 5

Man redet viel von dem "Christentum des zweiten Klemensbriefes." Professor Windisch in Leiden hat darüber einen lesenswerten Aufsatz geschrieben.[1] Ich fürchte allerdings, dass auch er zu scharf und zu viel gesehen hat. Wenigstens kann ich es nur bedingt mitmachen, wenn Windisch glaubt feststellen zu können, dass die theologische Grundlage von K als spät-jüdisch verstandenes und spät-jüdisch verflachtes synoptisches Christentum zu begreifen sei, oder wenn er dieses Christentum als primitiv urchristlich und vorpaulinisch bezeichnet. Was ich sehe, ist lediglich dies: Ein Prediger um die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts — denn das ist alles in allem doch die wahrscheinlichste Abfassungszeit — richtet an seine Gemeinde ernste Mahn-

[1] Hans Windisch, *Das Christentum des zweiten Clemensbriefes*, Harnack-Ehrung (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 119–134.

worte. Sie gipfeln, wie jede ernste christliche Predigt, in dem Ruf nach der μετάνοια, der "Umsinnung," das heisst der Abkehr von der Gesinnung und den Werken des Fleisches. Als beste Waffe für solchen Kampf empfiehlt er die ἐγκράτεια. Als Stütze dient ihm Gottes Wort, wie es aus den Schriften der Alten und den Sprüchen des Herrn zu den Gläubigen redet, und wie er es mit krauser Exegese zu verdeutlichen sucht. Das Evangelium vom Heiland dient dabei "nur zur Illustration und Einschärfung der eschatologischen Lehren, nämlich der Erwartung der Auferstehung unseres Fleisches und unserer Pflicht, es rein zu halten." [1] Seine Theologie, wenn man denn von einer solchen reden will, bewegt sich ganz in den Bahnen der Sätze des Taufbekenntnisses, besonders des sogenannten dritten Artikels: πιστεύω εἰς πνεῦμα - ἅγιον, ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν. Man lese das so viel erörterte 14. Kapitel einmal unter diesem Gesichtspunkt, und man wird erstaunt sein, wie leicht sich alles aneinanderfügt. Von dem Realismus, der dieser Exegese zugrundeliegt, kann sich der moderne Mensch freilich kaum noch eine zureichende Vorstellung machen. Man soll eben nicht Alles einzeln begriffsmässig klären und deuten wollen. Die Hauptsache ist unverkennbar: Das innige Ineinsschauen von Geistlichem und Fleischlichem in heiliger Verklärung. In unserer Predigt ist der Glaube an die Fleischesauferstehung mit dem an die heilige Kirche und an den heiligen Geist in unlösliche Verbindung getreten. Und von Anfang bis zu Ende ist sie durchzogen von dem Gedanken, dass die Lossagung von der Sünde die selbstverständliche und unerlässliche Voraussetzung eines

[1] Windisch a. a. O., p. 129.

rechten Christenlebens ist. Auch die Sündenvergebung, die der Christ in der Taufe erlangt, gehört demnach zu den heiligen Gütern. So will es auch das Bekenntnis: erfüllt vom heiligen Geist, als Glied der heiligen Kirche, weiss sich der Christ der Vergebung der Sünde teilhaftig und hofft, dermaleinst in Reinheit des Fleisches zu ewigem Leben bei Gott aufzuerstehen.

Es ist nicht meine Absicht, durch diese Bemerkungen K sozusagen in eine idealisierende Beleuchtung zu rücken, denn eine grosse Leuchte ist unser Prediger gewiss nicht gewesen. Aber ich sehe auch keinen Grund, bei ihm von "verflachtem" Christentum zu reden. Dafür sind seine Mahnungen viel zu ernst und würdig. Vollends unverständlich ist mir aber, warum sein Christentum "spät-jüdisch" verflacht sein soll. Wenn damit die Berührung der einen oder anderen Ausführung mit der jüdischen Spruchweisheit, von der oben schon kurz die Rede war, oder mit den Moralvorschriften der Didache (vgl. etwa 4, 3) gemeint sein soll, oder an die Exegese des Herrenwortes, dass man nicht zwei Herren dienen kann (vgl. 6, 1 ff.), gedacht ist, so kann ich wenigstens nicht finden, dass sie den Mahnungen des Predigers eine irgendwie jüdische Färbung geben. Dem Judentum steht er ja so fern wie nur möglich; es liegt ausserhalb seines Gesichtskreises. Auch mit den Schlagwörtern "synoptisch" und "vorpaulinisch" vermag ich wenig anzufangen. Richtig ist daran höchstens, dass unserem Prediger die Tiefe und die Feinheiten paulinischer und johanneischer Gnosis und Mystik nicht aufgegangen sind. Es wird ihm nicht anders gegangen sein als dem Verfasser des zweiten Petrusbriefes, dem was Paulus "nach der ihm verliehenen Weisheit" schrieb, auch schwer ver-

ständlich dünkte. Dennoch waren diejenigen, die in späteren Zeiten seine Predigt in Verbindung mit den heiligen Schriften lasen, von richtiger Empfindung geleitet. Sie haben gewiss ihre Erbauung in diesem eindringlichen λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως gefunden.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJT — American Journal of Theology
HTR — Harvard Theological Review
JBL — Journal of Biblical Literature
HJ — Hibbert Journal

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